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JUNKER REVOLT IN GERMANY

Story of the Kapp-Luettwitz Counter-Revolution and the Causes of Its Failure—New Communist Revolt

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1920]

THE Ebert Government of Germany suddenly found itself facing complete overthrow by a Junker counter-revolution on March 13. While it had been generally conceded that a serious danger threatened the republic from the Communists in the event of acute economic distress, the strength of the reactionaries was supposed to have dwindled to an impotent quantity. Thus, as late as March 1, Minister of Defense Noske, in response to a question relative to the possibility of a reactionary uprising, remarked: "Even in France the militarists and monarchists are not all dead. In Germany they will never endanger the republic if the victorious countries do not continue to maltreat the German democracy." He added that every day the officers and men of the Reichswehr were becoming more republican in spirit. The sudden coup d'état of the 13th seemed for a time to indicate that Noske had spoken from a false sense of security.

The incident which brought the plotting of the militarists and monarchists to a head was, at the moment, supposed to be merely an outburst of "rowdy patriotism," as it was termed by Minister Noske. On March 6 some members of the French Military Mission were dining at the Hotel Adlon. At another table were seated Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia, a cousin of the former Emperor, and Baron von Platen. At an order from the Prince the orchestra played "Deutschland über Alles." When the French officers refused to rise with the rest of the company Prince Joachim began to hurl bottles, plates and other missiles at them, and a general scrimmage ensued. Subsequently the Prince was arrested, and when this incident was followed by others at Breslau and Bremen the Government issued a proclamation

threatening punishment for "such militaristic excesses."

Meantime the Government had discovered a reactionary plot of serious proportions, rapidly gaining impetus from the arrest and probable punishment of the Hohenzollern Prince, Joachim Albrecht. Thereupon Minister Noske ordered the arrest of Dr. Wolfgang von Kapp and Captain Pabst, charged with attempting a reactionary revolution, and directed that the public security forces and the Reichswehr be confined to barracks for an emergency. Dr. Kapp was President of the Fatherland Party and had been prominent in all reactionary movements of the monarchists, and Captain Pabst had been a cavalry officer of the Guard and had taken a leading part in suppressing the last Spartacan revolt. But Noske's order came too late to check the plot. The two arch conspirators, associated with a third—Major Gen. Baron von Lüttwitz—had established secret headquarters at Döberitz, twelve miles west of Berlin, and had at their service the former Baltic Army, which had always been of doubtful allegiance to the republic.

Not until the 12th did the Ebert Government know of the intended move of the Döberitz garrison. It then issued a communiqué which was so optimistic and misleading that practically all Berlin went to bed thinking the Government had the situation well in hand. However, toward midnight Minister Noske began distributing his troops. Through the sparse night traffic rolled armored cars and field kitchens, while infantry and artillery were observed taking up positions.

Meanwhile the Ebert Government had received an ultimatum from the rebels demanding a new Government and new elections; also the withdrawal of the

warrants against Dr. Kapp and others. The Cabinet met and made an attempt to negotiate. It sent Admiral von Trotha to Döberitz, but there he met with a blank refusal. He was handed a new rebel ultimatum, demanding the resignation of the entire Ebert Government by 7 o'clock in the morning. Failing that, a force would advance and occupy Berlin.

On receipt of this information another Cabinet meeting was held at an early hour of the 13th. It had then become clear that the Government had not a sufficiently strong military force behind it to offer any effective resistance. Consequently orders were issued to the Ebert Government troops to withdraw eastward and avoid a conflict.

ENTRY OF REBEL TROOPS

At midnight the rebel troops at Döberitz, augmented by two naval brigades, were on the march to Berlin. Hasty efforts made to induce them to return to their quarters were ineffectual. Equally so was a display of Government troops in Berlin under Colonel Thyssen, and barbed wire entanglements stretched around the Reichstag building and the imperial printing works.

Early in the morning of the 13th the revolting Junker troops marched into Berlin and waited at the Brandenburg Gate for the expiration of the ultimatum time limit. The Imperial Guards offered no resistance, and the rebels proceeded to occupy the city without encountering even a show of opposition. When the first citizens abroad encountered these helmeted and heavily armed soldiers posted in groups along Unter den Linden and Wilhelmstrasse, and inquired whether they were the Government contingents awaiting the Baltic troops from Döberitz, they were answered with derisive laughter and told that the Ebert Government had fled overnight. Thus had the reactionaries gained control of Berlin, and the Ebert Government seemed suddenly to have melted away. Crowds soon filled the streets, but no conflict or disorder was reported.

President Ebert had been among the first members of the Government to leave Berlin. He departed at 5 A. M. for

Dresden, intending to establish the headquarters of the republican Government in the Saxon capital. Simultaneously the Majority Socialist Party issued a manifesto for a general strike. It was signed by President Ebert, Premier Bauer, Defense Minister Noske, Labor Minister Schlike; also by Dr. Schmidt, Minister of Food; Dr. Eduard David, Minister without portfolio, and Dr. Herman Müller, Minister of Foreign Affairs; these were the Social Democratic members of the Government. The manifesto was signed also by Otto Wels for the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party. The text of this document, which proved a powerful and effective weapon, was as follows:

Workmen, Comrades: The military revolt has come. Erhardt's naval division is marching on Berlin to enforce the reorganization of the Imperial Government. The mercenary troops who were afraid of the disbandment which had been ordered desire to put the reactionaries into the Ministerial posts.

We refuse to bow to this military constraint. We did not make the revolution in order to recognize again today the bloody Government of mercenaries. We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workers, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

We say "No!" And again "No!" You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside all division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship.

Let there be a general strike along the entire line. Let the proletariat act as a unit.

KAPP AS "IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR"

Among the few high officials of the Government to remain in Berlin were Dr. Schiffer, Minister of Justice, and Dr. Albert, Under Secretary of State. These two received the rebel leaders. Dr. Wolfgang von Kapp proclaimed himself Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia, and immediately appointed Major Gen. Baron von Lüttwitz to be Commander in Chief of the Army. He



PRESIDENT EBERT AND FRAU EBERT
(© International)

also announced the Oberfinanzrat Bank as Minister of Finance and Dr. Traub as Minister of Justice. A proclamation was then issued by Kapp and Lüttwitz, of which the main features read:

The overthrow of the Government must not be taken as reactionary. On the contrary, it is a progressive measure of patriotic Germans of all parties, with a view to re-establishing law, order, discipline and honest government in Germany. It is an overdue attempt to lay the foundations for the economic resuscitation of Germany, enabling her to fulfill those conditions of the Peace Treaty which are reasonable and not self-destructive.

Inspired by zeal and a desire for the benefit of all the German people, the new Government invites heartily the acceptance and co-operation of the Independents for the creation and elaboration of laws for the betterment of the working classes.

The manifesto charged the Socialist Government with overburdening the people with taxation, failing to create conditions for an increase of production in all lines, suppressing papers which criticised it and otherwise interfering with personal liberty and refusing to dissolve the National Assembly and issue writs for new elections.

"Last but not least," said the manifesto, "a Government whose chief spokesman is Erzberger must be swept away."

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

Another proclamation, prepared in advance, was delivered to the people by cavalrymen, heavily armed and helmeted. It promised freedom and order and dissolved the National Assembly, declaring that its mission, which was to establish

a constitution and conclude peace, had been fulfilled. Elections to the Reichstag, it said, would be held as soon as quiet was restored.

"Chancellor" von Kapp also called the Berlin foreign correspondents together and told them his was not a monarchist movement, but one rendered necessary by the failing Ebert Government. He said in so far as the provisions of the Peace Treaty were just they would be enforced by his Government.

General Baron von Lüttwitz, on assuming the office of Commander in Chief, issued the following order:

I am personally taking over the executive power for Berlin and the Mark of Brandenburg. All decrees issued by Defense Minister Herr Noske in accordance with the decree of Jan. 13 will remain in force. The decree of Jan. 13 relative to the proclamation of martial law is maintained and extended to those parts of the imperial territory not yet affected thereby. The state of siege hitherto existing in the free State of Saxony is at the same time raised. The troops under command of the newly formed Government are charged with the execution of the requisite measures.

ANOTHER PROCLAMATION

A proclamation made by the Imperial Office for Citizen Guards said that the new government of labor had taken the fate of Germany in its hands. Until the nation's decision was taken, it would continue to let all Citizen Guards work for the maintenance of peace and order. The hour demanded, it added, that every German of whatever party should exert himself in loyal performance of his duty to prevent civil war. In part this proclamation read:

The National Assembly, which continues to govern without a mandate, declares itself in permanent violation of the Constitution and postpones the elections until Autumn. A tyrannous party Government would deprive the people of the important fundamental right of electing a President. No means is left to save Germany but a government of action.

Finance, taxation and the sovereignty of the Federal States will be restored on a constitutional federative basis; the Government will safeguard war loans and will shortly begin their repayment. Rural and town landed property will be taxed for purposes of reconstruction. In order to put landed property in a po-

sition to meet this taxation economic freedom will be restored to it.

The Government will not be a Government of one-sided capitalism; it will rather shield the German worker against the fate of international servitude to large capitalists. * * *

The Government is strong enough not to begin its rule with arrests or other violent measures, but any opposition to the new order will be unsparingly put down. * * * The Government only knows German citizens, and every German citizen who in this grave hour gives to the Fatherland what belongs to the Fatherland can count on the protection of the Government.

Let every one do his duty, for Germany shall be a moral community of labor.

Berlin advices of the 14th stated that the Berlin municipal government had been dissolved and Vermuth deposed. The Conservative Herr Vonderborgh was appointed as the new Mayor of Berlin. It was also reported that Herr Heische, Minister of Labor in the Ebert Cabinet, and Herr von Berger, former Minister of Public Safety, had been placed under arrest in their homes. Dr. Kapp was taking steps to have Ebert and Bauer arrested on the charge of high treason.

ATTITUDE OF SOUTH GERMANY

In the States of South Germany, almost without exception, there was immediate opposition to the new Kapp-Lüttwitz Government. The old Government in Dresden, Saxony, issued a manifesto in which it denounced the Berlin insurrection as the "work of Baltic adventurers," and predicted it would collapse of its own weight within a few days. It declared that all orders and decrees of the new Government were illegal and would not be recognized, and called attention to the army officers' breach of their oaths.

The Governments of Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg also issued proclamations in which they declared they were immovably opposed to the "unconstitutional machinery of reactionaries." The Democratic Party at Leipzig pronounced itself in favor of the old Government and the National Assembly. Advices from Frankfort stated that the general strike was in progress there, and a great procession of workmen was parading the streets. The general strike was

also proclaimed at Osnabrück, Hanover. At Baden, General von Davans, Commander in Chief of the Army, asserted he would support the Baden Government against the Berlin Government.

On the other hand, Baron von Wan- genheim, superior garrison officer at Al-



GUSTAV NOSKE
German Minister of Defense

tona, near Hamburg, issued a statement in which he announced the advent of the "Imperial Government," and declared that he assumed executive power over Greater Hamburg and the surrounding district.

PROGRESS OF THE STRIKE

The general strike proclaimed by President Ebert went into effect in Berlin on the 14th with the closing down of all the cafés, traction lines, and many other forms of public service. At Cologne, Essen and Düsseldorf the workmen adopted a resolution calling for a twenty-four-hour strike as a protest against the reactionary coup.

At Hamburg on the evening of the 14th Public Security troops succeeded in

taking possession of the town hall, the Trades Union Building and other public places in order to demonstrate their support of the Ebert Government.

From other places, however, came reports of adherence to the new Government. In Breslau, Lieut. Gen. Count Schmeerow assumed the military command, and arrested thirty persons, including Oberpräsident Philipp. Hamburg reported Oberburgomeister Distel as having stated: "We will follow Berlin." From East Prussia the Governor, August Winnig, and General von Estorff, chief in command of the First Reichswehr, telegraphed Dr. Kapp as follows: "We of East Prussia, who are surrounded by enemy neighbors must welcome any development promising our province a chance of peace and work."

At Coblenz the American commander informed the Socialist leaders on March 13 that no general strike interfering with the functions of the allied forces of occupation would be permitted.

FALL OF REBEL GOVERNMENT

Until the afternoon of the 15th the reactionary Government kept up a bold front, though its utter lack of support was already evident. A defiant proclamation was issued against leaders of the general strike, threatening them with capital punishment; but by this time the strike had swept the country from end to end. Berlin experienced a complete paralysis of all its living and commercial facilities. Food and service could not be obtained even in the hotels, and the water supply was cut off. Railroad and other transportation came to a standstill. It thus became evident to the Kapp-Lüttwitz régime that whatever chance for success it might have possessed was lost. Its coup d'état had failed.

In this emergency Dr. Kapp's first move was to seek the assistance of Field Marshal von Hindenburg and the former Vice Chancellor, Dr. Karl Helfferich; but they had kept in the background and refused to be entangled in the abortive revolt. General Groener, the Prussian War Minister, was also credited with having telegraphed that, in his opinion, the Kapp-Lüttwitz scheme was impos-

sible, whether from the point of view of home or of foreign affairs.

With the guns of a counter-revolt beginning to thunder in his ears "Chancellor" Kapp next turned to placate those he had ousted. He ordered the release of the Bauer Cabinet members, who had been detained, but kept Prince Albrecht Joachim in prison. His efforts, however, to open negotiations with the Ebert Government at Stuttgart proved futile. He was again repulsed. As evidence of the power still retained by Ebert, the Imperial Finance Minister refused to turn over the money for the payment of the troops demanded by the revolutionary Chancellor, and other officials absolutely declined to take orders from the Kapp Government.

Thus Dr. Kapp, deprived of the support of the most influential men among the military party and rebuffed by the Majority Socialists, faced a tidal wave of the communist working classes to sweep his impossible Government out of existence. For a few hours more, however, he held on to the "rudderless ship" at the urging of Colonel Bauer, leader of the Royalist Party, and of General Ludendorff, who was believed to be the evil genius behind the whole movement.

After five days of doubtful rule the Kapp-Lüttwitz Government came to an end at 6 P. M. on March 17. Dr. Kapp announced his resignation in the following statement:

General Provisional Director Kapp has retired, with the object of bringing about internal peace. General von Lüttwitz has retired for similar reasons. The Vice Chancellor, in the name of the Imperial President, has accepted the resignations and has intrusted Major Gen. von Seeckt with the provisional conduct of affairs as Commander in Chief.

At the same time issued a communiqué in which he strove to place a patriotic aspect on his withdrawal. It read:

The Bauer Government having voluntarily decided to fulfill the most essential political demands addressed to it, the rejection of which on Saturday led to the establishment of the Kapp Government, Chancellor Kapp considers his mission fulfilled and retires, resigning the executive power again into the hands of the military Commander in Chief. In this he

is moved by the conviction of the extreme necessity of the Fatherland, which demands solid union of all against the annihilating dangers of Bolshevism.

FINAL SCENE PICTURED

The last scene was described by a correspondent as pathetic. Already some of the Under Secretaries of the Bauer Cabinet had put in an appearance, and there were many handshakes of congratulation. Inside the palace door a small crowd of people waited to see the end. General von Lüttwitz had fled earlier in the evening. Most of the rooms were littered with straw for the housing of soldiers. Some of them actually slept through all the final acts. Documents were littered about in many rooms. Officials of brief authority were packing up their belongings. Confusion was everywhere. Orders were being shouted in echoing halls and machine guns and ammunition were being stored away. Here and there a motor car whirred and dashed away into the gathering gloom.

Presently Dr. Kapp and a few friends emerged from the Chancellor's palace and entered a gray automobile, heaped with baggage and bundles of documents. Out through the huge gates it went, scarcely any one in the crowd of civilians and soldiers being aware of who were in the car. Not a single soldier saluted. Thus the Kapp Government appeared into the night of rain and mud from the scene of its astounding coup. "It was a fit setting for the final scene in one of the maddest, saddest and clumsiest revolutions ever staged. There had been nothing picturesque about it. A Central American republic could have staged something more thrilling."

RETURN OF NOSKE

On March 17 Gustav Noske, Minister of Defense, arrived in Berlin to take charge of the Government on behalf of President Ebert. Together with Vice Chancellor Ochiffer, in whose hands the sudden retirement of Dr. Wolfgang Kapp had temporarily placed the administrative power, he proceeded to restore order. Regular troops, loyal to the Ebert Government, guarded the streets, while detachments of them be-

gan tearing down wire entanglements and barricades which the revolutionary soldiers had erected in profusion.

These latter took one last fling of vengeance before leaving the city. When lined up for their departure, they withstood impatiently for a time the hoots and jeers of the crowds in Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden. Suddenly they opened fire and wounded several persons. The crowd rushed to take refuge in the Adlon Hotel, where the wounded were treated. Again, after passing through the Brandenburg Gate, the retreating revolutionary soldiers fired a parting volley with machine guns, wounding a score or more. The terrified mob once more rushed to the hotel, the gates of which were torn down in the ensuing panic.

President Ebert, Minister of Defense Noske and Foreign Secretary Müller, with other members of the Cabinet, had decided during the revolt that Dresden was too near Berlin for entire security, and had accordingly moved to Stuttgart on the 15th. At a Cabinet meeting on the following day, presided over by President Ebert, the report of General Merker relative to negotiations with Dr. Kapp was considered. It was decided that there could be no negotiations with the rebels, and that the Government's only response should be that Kapp and Lüttwitz must withdraw immediately from Berlin with their troops.

On the 17th the Council of the Empire assembled in the Castle of Stuttgart and unanimously approved the Government's attitude with strong condemnation of the coup d'état. The same place and date were set for the National Assembly to meet to consider the situation. As a precautionary measure the city had been garrisoned by several thousand loyal troops. By that time President Ebert was preparing to return to Berlin.

NEW COMMUNIST UPRISEING

In the conflicts which rose out of the general strike between the supporters of the reactionary revolt and those faithful to the Ebert Government, the Communist "Spartacists" grasped the opportunity for their long-meditated uprising.

As the first revolution following the

war had begun with naval support, so now again the navy was on the side of the rebels, reactionaries though these were. On the 16th the cruiser Eckernförde bombarded Kiel with the object of destroying the quarters of workmen opposed to the Kapp Government. The cruiser fired through the streets from



GENERAL VON LUETTWITZ
Military leader of the Junker revolt
(© Underwood & Underwood)

the harbor, killing hundreds and demolishing many houses.

Meanwhile the Independent Socialist Party, the trade union leaders and the Workmen's Council, who, in co-operation, had been busily engaged in trying to engineer the general strike to their own advantage, issued the following joint proclamation:

The counter-revolution has triumphed. It is through you that the freedom of the working classes, the revolution and the cause of socialism must be defended to the last man and the last woman. Every worker and every official in this hour of destiny must recognize that there is only one solution, namely, a general strike along the whole front. Workmen, workwomen and officials, away with party distinctions! Be united under the standard of revolutionary socialism! You have nothing to lose except your chains!

On the 15th a number of Spartacists seized the arsenal in Berlin, killing six officers and a number of soldiers. Kapp troops retook the arsenal, in turn killing about 200 rioters.

Advices of March 16-17 reported Spartacist activity throughout Germany, though, for the most part, the south was said to have remained less affected. In Westphalia battles took place between troops and bands of Spartacists, especially at Hagen, where the Radical Extremists had proclaimed a Soviet republic. All Rhenish and Westphalian industry declared itself ready to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet. At Halle and Ohligs, however, where the Spartacists had deposed the Mayors and hoisted the Red flag, British troops restored order and reinstated the Mayors.

In the eastern part of the industrial region of Bochum and in Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen and Unna, the proletariat was in charge. Armed laborers sped to various places to assist their comrades in the fighting, while Government troops vigorously used their artillery. At Münster 8,000 armed laborers disarmed two battalions of troops and directed heavy machine-gun fire upon airmen sent to observe them. Reserves, however, were concentrated at Söst and Weil, awaiting reinforcements. Forty-five persons were reported killed at Essen in street fighting, and one officer and nine men were

killed in a conflict with Spartacists at Wetter. In Leipsic the situation was very bad. While fighting with machine guns was proceeding, food was becoming scarce, and the water supply had been cut off, but the Ebert Government troops were holding their own against the revolutionaries. In the Charlottenburg and Steglitz suburbs of Berlin serious rioting was in progress. All Berlin viewed the situation with alarm, asking: "The White or Red terror, which?" Meantime the leaders of the general strike issued a hopeful proclamation, which said: "The general strike of the railway men has been completely successful, and, therefore, it is suspended forthwith."

FIGHTING THE REDS

When these pages went to press, on March 22, the Kapp revolt was a thing of the past, but the Red rebellion that had followed in its wake was still a serious and bloody problem for the Ebert Government.

The Communist revolt had grown to alarming proportions, especially in the western districts. Essen had been captured by a Spartacist army after inflicting many hundreds of casualties. The Ruhr mining district was in a fierce ferment of radical revolt, and the Communists had a fully equipped army estimated at 70,000 men. Serious outbreaks were reported in Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden. By the 19th the dead in these local conflicts were estimated at more than 2,000.

President Ebert and the members of his Government returned to Berlin on March 21 after a week's absence and began taking vigorous measures to combat the Communist revolt, which had proved much more formidable than that of the militarists. Already the Ebert régime had taken an important step toward conciliation of the radicals by making a "swing to the left" in its announcement of its future policy. As the outcome of a conference with the Strike Committee in Berlin, which lasted all through the night of the 19th-20th, the following convention was signed early in the morning of the 20th. Its chief concession to the

radicals was the promise that Noske should be dropped from power:

1. The Government's representatives will intervene with the various political parties in order to reform the same. Prussian Cabinet Ministers will be nominated by agreement between the parties and the trade unionists.
2. The labor organizations will have a decisive influence in these nominations, respecting, however, the rights of Parliament.
3. Punishment of the leaders of the recent coup, including all officials and civil servants who supported the Kapp régime.
4. Democratization of all administrations and the dismissal of all who proved disloyal to the Constitution.
5. Immediate extension of existing social laws and the framing of new laws.
- 6-7. The immediate socialization of all industries, therefore nationalization of the coal and potash syndicates.
8. Confiscation of agricultural products and confiscation of land improperly and unintensively cultivated.
9. Dissolution of Reichswehr formations not loyal to the Constitution and their replacement by formations from the workmen, artisans and State teachers.
10. The resignation of Gustav Noske and Dr. Karl Heine.

The strike was declared off at noon, and the state of siege was ended the following day, but Noske's strong hand was still active in the work of combatting rebellion, and it was agreed that he would not retire immediately. The disturbances everywhere were increasing in seriousness. The Reds had occupied Leipzig and fought a pitched battle there with Government troops on the 19th, resulting in the killing of 3,000 persons before the Government recaptured the city. Communist control was spreading in the Rhine districts, and the German Republic was facing the most serious crisis in its brief history.

DOWNFALL OF ERZBERGER

The chief event of the month in Germany, aside from the attempted revolution, was the Erzberger trial. The voluntary resignation of Minister of Finance Erzberger on Feb. 24 had come as the sensational climax to a long series of attacks which culminated in accusations against his personal integrity. Herr Erzberger was said to have become the best hated man in Germany, even more

so than Minister of Defense Noske, though for different reasons.

In July, 1919, a veritable political storm swept upon Herr Erzberger when he published his first financial program to raise \$6,000,000,000, principally by taxation, almost by confiscation, of capital. As time went on the torrent of vituperation grew in intensity. He was charged with treason, profiteering, tax dodging, &c. In September former Vice Chancellor Dr. Karl Helfferich declared that Erzberger was "a menace to the purity of public life" and "a dangerous member of the Government." Thus, early in January, 1920, Erzberger was driven to the extremity of making a public defense. He chose a libel suit as his means and Dr. Helfferich as his target.

SENSATIONS OF THE TRIAL

The trial began on Jan. 19, and one among several sensational incidents was the attempted assassination of Erzberger on the 26th by Hirschfeld, a former military cadet. He was seriously wounded. From the outset the nature of the defense placed Erzberger himself on the defensive. Dr. Helfferich pleaded "justifiable libel," and produced such an array of witnesses that Erzberger presented the figure of a man charged with a capital offense. Testimony went to show that he had been involved in numerous questionable transactions, and had used his official position to the end of personal gain. In the final scene State Attorney Messerschmidt testified that Erzberger had smuggled large amounts of private funds to Switzerland. In cross-examination he stated that he had come across Erzberger's trail in connection with an investigation of Michael Thalberg, a Zurich attorney, who, he testified, acted as transfer agent in financial transactions which he believed would total 15,000,000 marks.

The proceedings rose to the dramatic when Dr. Helfferich personally examined Erzberger, and forced the Minister to admit that he was acquainted with Thalberg, that the Minister's wife had been in communication with the attorney at Zurich, and that he had funds on deposit there. Herr Erzberger, in attempting to defend himself, asserted that the

money on deposit in Switzerland was for political and church use, and that large amounts were used in defraying the cost of his family's sojourn in that country; further, that the transactions had been legally made through banks. Thereupon Dr. Helfferich exclaimed: "I know more than you care to admit."

This testimony left Erzberger no other choice than to tender his resignation to President Ebert. It was promptly accepted.

Subsequently the trial proceeded until March 11, when the court delivered judgment. Dr. Karl Helfferich was fined 300 marks and costs because he had failed to prove one point in his allegations against Mathias Erzberger, namely, the latter's intention to denounce Helfferich to the Entente. But, on the other hand, Presiding Judge Baumbach declared proved the following allegations against Erzberger: "First, mixing politics with business; second, untruthfulness; third, impropriety; fourth, political activity to Germany's disadvantage."

SCHEME TO CONTROL RUSSIA

The Minister's discomfiture was completed on Jan. 16 by the publication of a letter written by him six months after he had signed the armistice, in which he urged the Germans to bear in mind "the reasons for this war," which he defined as a struggle for world dominion between Continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon race in England and the United States. In his opinion the "game" between London and Berlin was the same as that once fought out by Carthage and Rome. After disposing of France as weakened beyond recovery, he added:

If we succeed in keeping Poland down it will mean enormous gains for us. In the first place, France's position on the Continent is, in the long run, untenable. In the second, the way to Russia is then open. That is, even for a blind man, Germany's future. Russia is now ripe if planted with German seed to come into the great German future. Nothing must disturb us in the great problem before us. Poland is the sole but very powerful obstacle. Therefore we must not lose courage, * * * but continue our work ceaselessly, and ever keep before our

eyes the gigantic reward which we hope to obtain. If we succeed in hindering the building up of a strong Poland, then the future is quite clear for us. Then the Anglo-Saxons cannot close the road to Russia for us. We will undertake the restoration of Russia, and in the possession of such support we will be ready within ten or fifteen years to bring France without any difficulty into our power. The march toward Paris will be easier than in 1914. The last step but one toward world dominion will then be reached. The Continent is ours. Afterward will follow the last stage—the closing struggle between Continent and "overseas."

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Announcement was made in Berlin on Jan. 17 of the resumption of diplomatic relations with recent enemy countries by the appointment of Dr. Shtamer, Hamburg Senator, as Chargé d'Affaires in London; Dr. Meyer, a Bavarian Parliamentarian, in Paris; the former State Secretary, Dr. Solf, in Tokio, and Freiherr von Lucius in Rome. It was pointed out that as neither Dr. Shtamer nor Dr. Meyer was a professional diplomat the Foreign Office took credit for this innovation. Diplomatic representatives sent to other capitals were former Imperial Minister Dr. Landsberg, to Brussels; Count von Oberndorff, Madrid; Professor Saenge, Prague, and Colonel Renner, The Hague. Colonel Renner was military attaché at the Dutch capital during the war, and was known as an opponent of the annexationist policy and of ruthless submarine war. It was also reported that Dr. Dresel had arrived in Berlin to take charge of American interests.

For the first time since the war a British warship saluted the German flag at Wilhelmshaven on Jan. 17, when the Malaya, with the Interallied Commission of Control on board, fired the customary peace-time twenty-one guns on entering the harbor.

COBURG JOINS BAVARIA

The formal union of the Coburg part of the tiny Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha with the State of Bavaria was effected on Feb. 15 by the signing in Munich of the treaty authorized by the people of both States. According to a

Munich dispatch, sent out by the semi-official Wolf Telegraph Bureau, the principal provisions of the agreement whereby the 216 square miles of Coburg, with their 75,000 inhabitants, are united to the territory of their big neighbor are as follows:

The territory of the Free State of Coburg is united to the Free State of Bavaria in a single territory. The political sovereignty over the territory of Coburg passes to Bavaria with this unification. The territory of the Free State of Coburg, with the exception of the domain of Königsberg, is attached to the district of Upper Franconia; the Königsberg domain is attached to the district of Lower Franconia. The cities of Coburg, Neustadt and Rodach remain "unmittelbar" [i. e., independent of the district Governments].

In the election for the Landtag in Bavaria following the union of Coburg with Bavaria the districts formerly belonging to Coburg will take part according to

the conditions obtaining in Bavaria. Until such election is held, the Coburg Provincial Assembly will send three members to the Bavarian Landtag, who will have seats and voices in it and enjoy the same rights as the Bavarian Landtag Deputies.

On the day of the act of union the Bavarian Constitution automatically enters into force in the territory of the Free State of Coburg.

The judicial union with Prussia and the Thuringian States in the Courts of Assize and the Supreme Court is to be abolished.

The National Government is to be requested to incorporate in the national law a clause regarding the union of Coburg with Bavaria providing that the date of the going into effect of the national law will be set by an order of the Bavarian Government.

Other parts of the agreement regulate internal matters concerning the administration of justice, charity and welfare work, education, &c.

Enforcing the Treaty Terms

How Germany Is Meeting the Obligations Imposed on Her— Tendency Toward Modification

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 16, 1920]

THE question of Germany's fulfillment of the Peace Treaty continues to be a source of extreme difficulty and friction. In a stern note France declared in February that Germany, during December, 1919, had produced 10,450,000 tons of coal, and that, according to Article 429 of the Peace Treaty, she should have delivered to the Allies, notably to France, some 2,500,000 tons, instead of the 600,000 tons actually handed over. Because of this failure, the note added, the time limits for evacuation of the occupied territory were suspended; it also threatened reprisal measures.

In a statement issued on Feb. 16 by Erich Schmidt, German Minister of Economics, Premier Millerand was charged with misrepresenting the facts of the coal situation. The German coal output, Dr. Schmidt declared, was only half nor-

mal; furthermore, if Germany delivered the 2,500,000 tons demanded by the French Government she would fall below 50 per cent. of her peace-time supply. In these circumstances, he asserted, the allied coal demands on Germany simply could not be met. "This coal," he said, "the French must leave us, if they are to follow a far-sighted policy rather than a short-sighted policy of revenge. * * * If she takes too much from Germany, France must bury her hope of further restoration."

REDUCTION OF ARMY

One concession which Germany received was an extension of the time limit within which her armed forces must be reduced. Premier Lloyd George shortly before Feb. 18 notified Dr. Shtamer, the newly appointed German representative in London, that the date when the Ger-

man Army must be reduced to the prescribed total of 200,000 men had been moved on to April 10, and that the ultimate reduction to 100,000 had been set for July 10. (According to Article 160 of the Peace Treaty, the full reduction to 100,000 was to have been effected by April 1, 1920.)

It was officially denied in Paris on Feb. 20 that this extension of time indicated any weakening of the allied determination to enforce the fulfillment of Article 160. Both France and Great Britain stood firmly for the final reduction by July 10. General Nieszel, former head of the Baltic Commission, who had been charged by the French Government to make a report on Germany's military situation, issued at this time a statement, based on an elaborate analysis of the German police and military organization, to prove that Germany was secretly building up a large army, far beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty.

The transfer of the remaining German warships to the Allies was set for March 10, when eight battleships, eleven cruisers and forty-two destroyers were to be formally surrendered. Seventy per cent. of the ships transferred were to go to Great Britain, 11 per cent. to Italy and 8 per cent. to Japan.

EXTRADITION OF WAR CRIMINALS

Another important concession to Germany related to the extradition of the 900 Germans accused by the allied nations of war crimes. The text of the German note of Jan. 25, proposing the trial of those accused by the German Federal Court at Leipzig, and referred to in the allied reply accepting this proposal on Feb. 16 (printed in the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*), was not made public in Berlin until Feb. 4. It read as follows:

The German Government pointed out to the Governments of the principal allied and associated powers in the beginning of last December the fatal consequences that would be entailed by a carrying out of the conditions contained in Articles 228 to 230 of the Peace Treaty regarding the extradition of Germans. The reasons for this statement were listed in a memorandum handed to the representatives of

the principal allied and associated powers at that time, and now again included with this note.

In amplifying these expositions the German Government has again expressly and emphatically pointed out that the allied



LORD KILMARNOCK
British Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin
(Times Wide World Photo)

and associated Governments' insistence upon extraditions would doubtless be bound to cause the most violent convulsions, not only in the political but also in the economic field. In particular would the thoroughgoing measures which the German Government is about to undertake for the purpose of preventing an economic collapse, especially in the matter of increasing production, that of coal above all, be put in extreme jeopardy, if not made entirely impossible. This would naturally produce serious reactions in the matter of fulfilling the economic obligations of the Peace Treaty.

In the memorandum of Nov. 5, 1919, there was also indicated a way to arrange the matter that would be durable for Germany and at the same time be capable of being carried out. Since then the principal allied and associated powers have also become acquainted with another act by the German Government again indicating its earnest intention of bringing to justice and proper punishment Germans guilty of war crimes or outrages. This refers to the law, enacted unanimously by the German legislative bodies on Dec. 18, 1919, providing for the

prosecution of war criminals, a copy of which is inclosed herewith.

The Peace Treaty has gone into effect without the allied and associated powers having made manifest any intention on their part to take into account the urgent representations of the German Government in this affair. In a clear conviction, only strengthened by the impression of the last few weeks, of the extraordinary seriousness of the situation, the German Government considers it its imperative duty once again to approach the allied and associated powers for the purpose of bringing about a settlement of the affair satisfactory to the interests of these powers, and possible of execution by Germany. Therefore, it repeats and defines once more the proposal already suggested, and accordingly makes the following declaration:

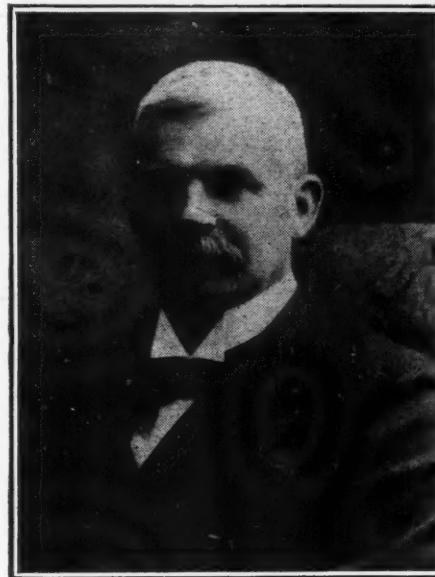
THE GERMAN PROPOSAL

The German Government will instruct the prosecuting authorities to begin at once criminal action against all Germans against whom the allied and associated Governments bring charges of having violated the rules and regulations of war, as soon as the evidence upon which these charges are based is received. It will suspend all laws which might stand in the way of the beginning of such an action, particularly the existing amnesty acts, in so far as these cases are concerned. The highest German court, the Federal Court in Leipsic, will be competent to handle this criminal procedure. Furthermore, the allied and associated powers actually interested will receive the right to take part directly in the trial.

A special agreement could be reached regarding the extent of this participation. For example, it would be quite possible to arrange matters so that an allied power would send a representative of its interests to the trial, empowered to take note of all papers and documents concerning the case, to present new evidence, to name witnesses and experts, as well as to make proposals in general and to plead for the interests of the injured party. All proposals by this representative for bringing in evidence would be acceded to. Such witnesses and technical experts as were citizens of an allied or associated country would be heard, upon the demand of the allied representative, by the competent judicial authorities of their native lands, in which case the presence of the accused or of his attorney should be allowed. The decisions announced by the Federal Court would be published, together with their reasons. Furthermore, the German Government is ready to negotiate over the establishment of a second court.

The German Government is convinced that in this way, and only in this way, can the intentions of the allied and asso-

ciated powers upon which are based Articles 228 to 230 of the Peace Treaty really be carried out. If, on the contrary, these powers were to insist upon the extradition of the accused persons, it is



DR. SHTAMER

*New German Chargé d'Affaires at London,
the first Teuton to occupy that
Embassy in five years*

probable that only such persons would voluntarily present themselves before the foreign courts as felt themselves innocent and consequently could count upon an acquittal. The really guilty ones, on the other hand, would escape punishment, because the Government, as is pointed out in more detail in the accompanying memorandum, could not find any officials who would be willing to carry out the arrests and extraditions.

The memorandum referred to in the German note enumerated the various reasons, already recounted in the press, why the German Government felt sure it could not survive a real attempt to arrest and hand over the war criminals.

EFFECT OF ALLIES' CONCESSIONS

The Entente's note transferring jurisdiction created much satisfaction in Germany, though the Government maintained an attitude of reserve, and the Reactionary Party sought to belittle what was in effect a triumph for the Ebert Government. Hints of further dif-

ficulty were made by He Noske at Bremen on Feb. 18, on the score that much that appeared to the Allies to be criminal was purely a general war measure ordered by superiors, which Germany would never acknowledge to be a crime. Minister of Justice Schiffer, however, made the following statement:

The German Government considers it a matter of national honor that those persons named in the allied extradition list who have been guilty of war crimes shall be punished. Should any of the accused fail to answer the summons to appear before the High Court at Leipzig for trial on the charges preferred against him, he will be promptly arrested and taken there.

A number of prominent Generals and Admirals who were among those listed issued a declaration on Feb. 27 which, while reiterating their refusal to appear before a foreign tribunal, expressed their willingness to be tried before a German Judge. The signers of this declaration were General von Ludendorff, former First Quartermaster General; Admiral von Tirpitz, former Minister of the Navy; General von Falkenhayn, former Chief of Staff; Field Marshal von Kluck, Admiral von Schroeder, and numerous other high army and naval officers.

ALLIES FAVOR TEST TRIAL

At a meeting of the Interallied Justice Committee, empowered to deal with this matter, held in Paris on March 2, a selection of some forty-six culprits was made, against whom the evidence was most conclusive. This list was sifted and slightly modified at a subsequent meeting, and then submitted to the Supreme Council in London for approval and transmission to Germany. Appended to each name was a brief outline of the charges. The plan proposed was that Germany should try these selected culprits as a test of her sincerity. As the trials proceeded the allied committee was to compare the case put forward by the prosecution with its own very complete dossiers. To prepare each case the Germans would be given every facility for collecting evidence in the localities where the crimes occurred, either in France or elsewhere. The Al-

lies retained the right to order a retrial or hold such retrial themselves if they considered the verdict unjust.

One German paper, *Vorwärts*, in its issue of Feb. 18, expressed great pessimism about the impartiality the Leipzig judges, saying of them:

They have been life-long and faithful supporters of the old Prussian military domination. Evil things have happened. Civilians have been massacred for alleged franc-tireur attacks, villages have been burned down, men and women have been deported, but who will say this is impossible after having observed the spirit and practices of German militarism, even in peace times?

GERMAN COUNTERCHARGES

A note handed to Premier Lloyd George by the German representative in London on March 10, on the other hand, after asserting that the Imperial Court would be guided only by considerations of justice, and would conduct an impartial inquiry, demanded that the arrest of Germans in the occupied territories on charges similar to those listed should cease, and that those arrested should be delivered to German courts. The note further demanded that the Allies should abandon the right claimed of arresting and trying Germans not on the list if caught on allied territory, saying that incidents arising out of the war should be consigned to oblivion with the advent of peace. Otherwise, it continued, the resumption of normal relations would be made difficult, and the German Government would be obliged to take official cognizance of crimes committed against Germans by allied subjects.

Regarding this last possibility, Foreign Minister Müller, during the debate on the Leipzig trials in the National Assembly on March 5, stated that Germany did not intend to send the Entente at present a list of allied citizens accused of misdeeds, and expressed doubt as to whether the Allies would punish any of their citizens on the strength of German evidence; such a move, he added, would probably unite even more firmly the allied coalition. A list, however, he stated, had been drawn up, comprising 312 pages of indictments against French individuals, and sixty-

nine against British. All the data had been officially corroborated, but publication would be deferred. Germany, he declared, would never demand the extradition of allied Generals. As to war misdeeds, in general, he laid down the propo-



ELLIS L. DRESEL
United States Commissioner and temporary
diplomatic representative at Berlin
(Times Wide World Photo)

sition that "swinishness and crime" could be charged up to all the belligerents.

THE REPARATIONS COMMISSION

The resignation of M. Jonnart as President of the Reparations Commission, on the score of ill-health, occurred on Feb. 18. Premier Millerand offered the post to M. André Tardieu, who declined it in order to have a free hand in pressing the execution of the Peace Treaty, which he had helped to frame.

The official announcement that ex-President Poincaré had agreed to represent France as President of the Reparations Commission was made on Feb. 21, and was received with much pleasure throughout the country, as it was believed that he, better than any other statesman, would be able to defend the interests of France.

The task which M. Poincaré assumed was a formidable one. The principal work of the commission, on which all the allied powers are represented, will be to establish by May 1, 1921, the total amount which Germany will be called upon to pay as compensation for the damage done by her armed forces during the war. Its powers are wide. It has the authority to transfer its sittings to Germany, if it deems this to be expedient. In case Germany fails to carry out her obligations, it has the right to propose measures of economic or financial reprisal. The four principal questions with which it will be called upon to deal are as follows:

1. To estimate the total amount of damage caused by Germany during the war.
2. To see that Germany restores all that she has stolen, seized and sequestered and to arrange for the manner in which this restitution shall be carried out.
3. To insure the payment before May 1, 1921, of the sum of £1,000,000,000 that Germany has undertaken to pay as a first installment of her debt, and to decide whether this sum shall be paid in gold, merchandise, shipping or securities.
4. To insure that from now onward the sums due to the Allies are made a preferential charge on the whole of the public revenue of Germany, and consequently to insure that the burden of taxation on the German taxpayer is at least as heavy as that which has been imposed on the British, French and other allied taxpayers as the result of Germany's aggression.

CHANGE TOWARD GERMANY

A noteworthy development in early March was a change in the attitude of the Council of Premiers, indicating a belief that too severe demands would bring Germany to a point where she would represent a danger to Europe. This radical change in policy, inspired mainly by Mr. Lloyd George, had met with considerable opposition on the part of France, tenacious of the reparations allotted to her. Little by little, however, it was said, the French attitude was becoming more flexible.

One evidence of the new policy was seen in the Reparations Commission's note to the Berlin Government, inviting it to make use of funds it possessed in

neutral countries to obtain the food and raw materials it needed, and also to use the capital it has invested in neutral countries for the same purposes.

In a "Declaration on Economic Conditions of the World," issued by the Council of Premiers on March 9, the deplorable conditions prevailing throughout Europe were reviewed, and the fundamental economic unity of the war-devastated world was emphasized. To remedy these conditions, the following measures were advocated: increase of industry, reduction of individual expense, deflation of credits, purchase of raw materials through commercial credits, and allied co-operation in restoring the devastated areas, especially those of Northern France. Germany was to be allowed to raise abroad a loan to meet her immediate needs.

The German Foreign Minister, Herr Müller, in an interview given in Berlin, protested against the repeated assertion in the Entente press that Germany does not wish to fulfill the conditions of the Peace Treaty. The Minister asserted that neither in Germany nor elsewhere was it realized what tremendous obligations Germany had already met. According to the official estimates cited by him, the following values had been delivered:

	Marks in Gold.
Sarre mines	1,000,000,000
Enterprises liquidated abroad...	12,000,000,000
State properties in surrendered	
regions	6,600,000,000
Commercial fleet	8,250,000,000
Coal	240,000,000
Machines	150,000,000
Railway material	750,000,000
Cables	66,000,000
State and army materials left	
behind	7,000,000,000
Expenses of foreign occupation..	666,000,000
Deliveries of cattle.....	390,000,000
Dyes	200,000,000
Claims on Germany's allies surrendered	7,000,000,000
 Total	 44,978,000,000

TARDIEU DEFENDS TREATY

André Tardieu, in accordance with his announced intention, continued his press campaign in favor of complete fulfillment of the Peace Treaty without revision. Speaking *ex cathedra* as one of

the French Peace Commissioners, he discussed in *l'Illustration* the whole question of revision, and criticised its advocates. In this article, which appeared toward the middle of February, he declared that such a demand had its root in a legend—"a legend that the most formidable treaty in the history of the world was improvised and patched up by four fallible and badly informed men, secluded in a dark room, and imposed upon the world according to the vagaries of their fancy." He added: "To this legend it is time to oppose some facts." Some of the facts he gave were as follows:

The treaty was studied, prepared and discussed for six months by fifty-two technical commissions, to which each country sent its best qualified specialists and which held 1,646 meetings. The conclusions of the commissions, verified by twenty-six inquiries on the spot, were discussed from Jan. 10 to June 28 by three bodies, the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which held 39 meetings; the Council of Ten, which held 72, and the Council of Four, which held 145.

These three councils heard the Presidents of the technical commissions and all the representatives of the allied and neutral countries interested. Finally, when at the beginning of May the texts were completed, a Council of Ministers of each of the great powers was called upon to deliberate upon them.

On May 7 the treaty was handed to the Germans, and three days later they began to discuss it. Between May 10 and June 28 the commissions in over 250 sessions and the Council of Four in 76 minutely revised all the articles. No criticism, whether formulated by Germany or not, was left in the background. Everything was discussed anew. By June 16 a reply was sent to the German notes, giving Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau a definite period in which to say yes or no. On June 28 the treaty was signed.

CLAUSES ALREADY FULFILLED

In reply to the contention that the treaty cannot be fulfilled, M. Tardieu said:

The willing skepticism which for a long time united our royalist and our Bolshevik press banished the execution of the treaty into the uncertain future. But what do we see? The reduction of German territory by 84,000 square kilometers quietly executed; the return to France of Alsace and Lorraine, free and without the burden of expense; Posen, "the vital muscle of the Prussian body," as Bis-

mark called it, in the hands of Poland; the Walloon cantons given to Belgium.

Executed also are the rupture of the Government bond between the Sarre Valley and Prussia, the possession of the mines by France, the plebiscite of Slesvig, the installation of the plebiscite commission in Upper Silesia.

Allied troops occupy the left bank of the Rhine, which is under control of a French Commissioner. The fortresses in the neutral zone are dismantled. The fleet, of which France has received 600,000 tons, has been given up. The restitution of pillaged property is also being undertaken, and that means nine billions to France.

On retiring from the Presidency M. Poincaré accepted the post of chief political writer of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. His first contributed article, which appeared in the March issue, discussed the whole subject of the Peace Treaty. It arraigned severely the tendency of the treaty makers to change their minds, and referred to "the multitude of questions which have been the object of haphazard and contradictory solutions." Of this "ever-changing attitude of the Allies on many problems, notably the questions of the East, the Adriatic and the Soviets," M. Poincaré gave as an example the disposition of Constantinople, which kept the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street "busy playing at cross-purposes." In this connection he cited a remarkable memorandum drawn up by Stephen Pichon—while he was still in the Foreign Office—which favored the maintenance of the Sultan in Constantinople.

"FRENCH MILITARISM"

Deep resentment was shown in Paris on publication of President Wilson's charge, in his letter of March 8 to Senator Hitchcock, that France in her methods of executing the Peace Treaty was actuated by a spirit of militarism. The criticism was denounced by the French press as unjust and an unwarranted interference by the Chief of State of one country in the internal affairs of another. The explanation of France's firmer attitude toward Germany was the sole desire to protect France, inasmuch as the League of Nations and the Anglo-French-American alliance promised no material results. As these substitute guarantees, which Mr. Wilson himself proposed at the

Peace Conference, have now come to naught, France, it is held, should not be blamed for wanting to stay on the Rhine until Germany comes to terms.

M. Stéphane Lauzanne, the editor of the *Matin*, on March 11 published a vitriolic attack upon the personality of President Wilson, calling him "the same university professor, meddlesome and ignorant, turning out phrases pretty in words but bad in meaning; the same pedagogue who, mixing into the greatest drama in history, understood nothing of it, and has learned nothing of it."

The *Temps* expressed its regret that President Wilson's health made it impossible for him to come again to Europe and see the situation for himself, and continued:

If he were before France, which counts on the treaty of peace, and before Germany, which is trying to escape it—before France, which is exhausting herself to repair the ruins of war, and before Germany, where a new war is openly preached—the President of the United States would not declare that a military party reigns in France.

Similar articles were published in other papers. M. André Tardieu pointed out in an interview that almost the whole burden of carrying out the terms of the treaty had fallen upon France. Most of the common military tasks imposed by the Versailles Treaty, including the occupation of the Rhineland and plebiscite regions, were being borne unaided by French troops. It was, therefore, he concluded, unjust in President Wilson to accuse the French of imperialism.

PLEBISCITES AND MANDATES

The result of the second plebiscite in Slesvig is given elsewhere in these pages. The Eupen and Malmédy districts on the German-Belgian frontier, allotted provisionally to Belgium, were entered by General Baltia, the Belgian High Commissioner, on Jan. 22. Proceeding through the gayly decorated streets of Malmédy, the Commissioner read from the steps of the Hotel de Ville a proclamation pledging equality to all in respect to language, religion and civic rights. Civilian employes were to be maintained in their old positions; Germans might return to

Germany if they so desired, with their families and personal property. Commerce with Germany would continue without customs borders. The plebiscite would be completed within six months and would be conducted with all guarantees of impartiality. An advisory body of twelve members, six from Eupen and Malmédy and six from Belgium, would form a local Parliament.

General Odry, allied High Commissioner, on Feb. 15 formally took over control of Memel—a narrow strip of territory lying between Lithuania and the Baltic—from Count Lamsdorf, the German representative. The Commissioner announced that he would keep supreme authority in his hands, but that the business committee for the Memel district, headed by Mayor Altenberg, would continue its administration of local affairs until further notice. Under the Peace Treaty Germany agreed to abide by whatever disposition the allied and associated powers might make of the Memel district.

It was announced on March 12 that the German Government had made an energetic protest against a series of decrees issued by the Commission for the plebiscite territories in Upper Silesia, West Prussia and East Prussia, which Germany contended would interfere with the judicial organization of these districts.

RULING THE SARRE REGION

The Governing Commission of the Sarre Basin issued a proclamation on Feb. 26 announcing its assumption of control. The text of this document was given as follows in the German press:

To the Inhabitants of the Sarre District:

By virtue of the Peace Treaty of Versailles the Governing Commission assumes its high office today.

In the name of the League of Nations, which has created it, it will administer the territory of the Sarre Basin and exercise the same governing power there as used to be exercised by the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria. The Governing Commission is firmly resolved to carry out most exactly the regulations of the Versailles Treaty and to see that everybody obeys them, not only according to the letter, but also according to the spirit. Above all does it regard it as its duty to earn the confidence of the

population whose fate has been placed in its hands.

Furthermore, it is firmly resolved to maintain order and peace throughout the entire Sarre territory. Under the high supervision of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will be able to hold their usual local meetings, exercise their religious liberties and retain their societies, their schools and their language.

The Governing Commission, in full consciousness of its duties, is determined to create respect for its authority and ruthlessly to suppress all attempts, no matter whence they come, to disturb the population or mislead it into making mistakes. The rights with which the Governing Commission has been clothed by the treaty place it in a very good position to dedicate itself to its high task, without allowing itself to be handicapped by possible idle, or actually criminal, revolts. In allowing itself to be guided by the same basic principles from which the League of Nations is derived it is desirous of entering into closer relations with the population, in a hearty spirit of reconciliation. * * *

The Governing Commission will make it its special object to promote industry and to elevate the condition of the workers. It will endeavor, with all the power at its command, to increase production and to assure to the office employes and workers all the advantages that are consistent with the maintenance of well ordered industrial establishments. Proceeding from this standpoint, it will take into consideration the wishes expressed by the organizations of employes and employers, and it will do so in accord with the principles of the League of Nations. So far as this point is concerned it is aware, besides, that it is of one mind with the French mining authorities. In this respect France insures it unlimited freedom of action, and does so exactly in the way provided for in the Peace Treaty. In the exercise of the high office with which it has been intrusted the Governing Commission counts upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the population, whose material welfare will depend in many ways upon its peaceful attitude and its display of good-will.

In this way the inhabitants of the Sarre country will have a chance to give expression to their confidence in the League of Nations and at the same time to show the proper obedience to the Peace Treaty. Through demonstrated perseverance in labor, and, indeed, in all lines of work, agricultural as well as industrial, they will have a great part in the economic restoration of Europe. * * *

Done at Saarbrücken, Feb. 26, 1920, in the name of the Governing Commission. The President.

V. RAULT, Councillor of State.

Rhineland Under Allied Rule

Regulations Adopted by the High Commission Cause Friction —Some of Them Are Modified

THE Interallied High Commission of Rhenish Territory, whose President is Paul Tirard, a Frenchman, took over supreme authority in the occupied region along the Rhine in the name of all the Allies on Jan. 11, 1920. The commission's headquarters are at Coblenz. It issued the following proclamation on the date just named:

In execution of the Treaty of Peace the Interallied High Commission of the Rhenish countries takes over on this day supreme representation of the allied Governments in the occupied territories. Following the instructions of the allied Governments, it wishes to make a light as possible for the Rhenish people the burden of occupation, provided only that the German Government shall diligently continue to carry out the reparations due to the peoples which were victims of the war.

The High Commission guarantees to the Rhenish people the fulfillment of the law of occupation—whose liberality is unprecedented in history—both in letter and spirit. In agreement with the High Command of the allied troops, however, it will see that the safety of its troops shall suffer no attack. It will suppress, without needless severity, but also without weakness, every action aimed at the security of those troops which, in 1918, crossed the frontiers in the heat of battle, still shaken by the emotion of seeing their homes devastated and by the horrible treatment inflicted on their wives, their parents and their children, yet who won over themselves the highest of all victories, and for more than twelve months have brought to the Rhenish people the benefits of order, aided them with food supplies, and given them the example of their discipline.

The Interallied High Commission counts on the collaboration of German officials and magistrates, acting in complete harmony with the commission, to insure the people of the occupied territories a régime of order, industry and peace. Responsible for public order, the maintenance of which is ultimately incumbent on the occupying troops, it intends to guarantee to the Rhenish people full justice, the exercise of their public and individual liberties, the development of their legitimate aspirations and of their prosperity.

The High Commission hopes that contact between the troops of the allied

nations and the Rhenish people will prove, not a source of friction, but a means of the various nations becoming better acquainted, and of progressing, in the union of labor, order and peace, toward the future of a better humanity.

This document was posted up in two columns, the French version, of which the above is a translation, on the left, and the German version on the right.

RHINELAND REGULATIONS

Despite the idealistic note of this proclamation, ample evidence was found in the German press that the regulations set up by the Interallied Commission were regarded with deep dissatisfaction by the German residents. Some of these regulations, as printed in the German papers, were as follows:

All German authorities and all persons in the occupied territory must obey the commands of the foreign military authorities in the exercise of their powers and authority. German officials disobeying these orders will not only be punished, but they may also be removed from office by the High Commission.

All ordinances issued by the High Interallied Commission have all the force of laws upon being promulgated; the German legislative bodies and the German officials are not allowed to object to them. On the other hand, the High Commission reserves the right to decide which of the laws of the German Nation or of the States are to be applied in the occupied part of Germany.

Anybody who violates the ordinances of the foreign occupying force may be turned over to the military courts of the foreign troops of occupation. In case of necessity the German authorities must turn over all the official and other data necessary for this purpose.

Any person whose words, gestures or attitude in regard to the members of the High Commission or persons attached to it, or in regard to the occupying troops or any member of these troops, or in regard to the flag or any military emblem of the allied and associated powers, is characterized as insulting or unseemly will incur the punishments provided for the carrying out of the ordinances of the High Commission.

All uniformed German State employes,

including the police, firemen, customs officers and foresters, are obliged to salute the colors and the officers of the Entente. Any one who facilitates, or commits, an act aimed at causing discontent, discord, or lack of discipline among the occupying troops will be sent to prison for as much as five years.

The High Commission has the right, in certain circumstances, to expel persons from the occupied territory.

The compulsory passport system will be maintained for travel between the occupied and the unoccupied parts of Germany. In the occupied territory itself every person more than fourteen years of age must be provided with an identification card.

The postal, telegraph and telephone systems are under censorship. The officials named by the High Commission have the right to demand the handing over of letters and postal packages of all kinds. Such postal packages are to be dealt with according to the instructions of the High Commission. The High Commission reserves the right to forbid newspapers, circulars and any other publications, printed matter and reproductions of pictures, music and films in so far as they are calculated to endanger the maintenance of the public order or to militate against the safety or the prestige of the High Commission or of the occupying troops. Newspapers may be forbidden for a period of from three days to three months.

Political meetings must be announced forty-eight hours before they occur. The notice must give the object of the meeting and the names of its promoters.

There must be no strike in any vital industry before all the possibilities of agreement and adjustment have been exhausted and before the decision of the High Commission has been called for. This applies to strikes in the following industries: Railroads and their repair shops; telegraph, telephone and postal administrations; coal mines, navigation, gas, electric and water works. The High Commission can extend this ordinance to any other enterprise by issuing the proper order.

OFFICIAL GERMAN PROTEST

That the German Government itself was by no means content with the rules and regulations laid down by the Inter-allied High Commission was evidenced not only by the comments of high officials, but by the action of the German Foreign Office in sending a formal protest to Baron von Lersner, the German representative in Paris. This message was summarized as follows in a Berlin

dispatch sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung* on Jan. 16:

In this communication the German Government takes its stand upon the principle that the powers of the occupation authorities in the districts to the left of the Rhine are defined in the Rhineland agreement which was signed on June 28, 1919, at the same time as the Peace Treaty of Versailles, and that not only Germany, but also the other parties to the treaty, are bound by the contents of this agreement, so that they have no right to restrict the German rights beyond the bounds laid down in the agreement. It is noted with surprise that the Rhineland Commission does not seem to share this opinion, and wishes, through issuing regulations, to establish conditions which would be in gross contradiction to the text of the Rhineland agreement and to the repeated assurances of the allied and associated powers, and which would represent encroachments of the gravest kind upon the administrative and judicial sovereignty of the German Nation as well as upon the civic political rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territory.

In a special memorandum the objections to the individual provisions of the Rhineland Commission's plan of regulation are brought together. In conclusion the note voices the Federal Government's conviction that an impartial investigation by the allied and associated powers will lead to the recognition of the fact that the regulations mentioned are not necessary to assure the maintenance and the covering of the needs of the occupying troops, especially as by the Rhineland agreement the High Commission is already empowered to resort at any time to any particular steps necessary for the insurance of safety. The regulations referred to, however, would not even promote the security of the occupying troops, but would be in sharp contradiction to the spirit of international reconciliation which now, after the conclusion of peace, ought to lead the nations to join in the common work of civilization.

REGULATIONS MODIFIED

That the necessity of modifying these regulations was realized by the commission became apparent as early as Jan. 16, when the Cologne papers printed a summary of the changes introduced. The regulations regarding travel at night and automobile travel had become inoperative; only the regulations about closing hours and automobile licenses remained in force; the newspapers were no longer obliged to carry at the top of their front pages the statement that they were

issued "With the permission of the British (or French, or Belgian) authorities." All German newspapers and publications, even those formerly excluded, were allowed to appear.

A number of other regulations not mentioned above had also undergone modification or been eliminated, according to statements made by Sir Harold Stuart, the British member of the Inter-allied Commission, during a short visit to London about the middle of February. The attitude of the commission, whose function it was to secure the safety of the armies in the occupied territory, had been, he said, misrepresented in the German press, which was evidently seeking to convey the impression that the Central German Government was closely watching Rhineland interests. The attitude of the people toward the British was described by him as "quite friendly." The severity of the administration, he said, had been greatly relaxed by the commission. The censorship on postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications, as well as on the press, had been removed.

Restrictions on movement, both within the occupied territory and between the Rhineland and other parts of Germany, had been lifted. Germans were now subjected only to German jurisdiction, said Sir Harold Stuart, except as regards offenses against members of the allied forces and matters affecting their property. A surrender of allied military jurisdiction had been made to the extent that civil actions relating to members of the allied forces in their private capacity could be tried in the German courts; but appeals would be to an allied court, on which there would be one German lawyer.

As against these liberal concessions by the Allies the Germans, it was pointed out, had proclaimed a state of siege in unoccupied Germany. The German charge that the High Commission had forbidden strikes was declared to be quite unfounded. All that the High Commission had done was to require that before any strike took place among the railway men, postal or telegraphic officials and coal miners the case should be

submitted to a German Court of Conciliation. If the decision of this court is not accepted by the men they must give a week's notice of their intention to strike.

The Germans had complained that the Allies could punish and dismiss any German official who incurred their displeasure. The fact was that under Article 5 of the agreement annexed to the Peace Treaty the German authorities in the occupied territories have to conform, under penalty of removal, to the ordinances of the High Commission.

The regulation compelling all Germans in uniform to salute the Entente colors had been abolished. [See German cartoon on this subject in the present issue.] The word "seemly" ("inconvenant" in the French version) had been omitted in the English version of this regulation, and only cases of actual insult to the allied troops would be taken up, said Sir Harold Stuart.

FRICTION WITH FRANCE

At the time of the crisis over the question of extradition of German war criminals, Premier Millerand notified the German Government that because of the non-fulfillment of the treaty terms by Germany in failing to deliver the full amounts of coal to France, the time limits placed upon the allied occupation of the Rhineland had been suspended.

The German Government demanded that the independent principality of Birkenfeld, then occupied by French troops, be administered by high Prussian officials. It was stated by the *Echo du Rhin* on Jan. 10 that the French Government had replied to this in the negative, on the ground that it would be at variance with the German Constitution; the military authorities, said the statement of the commander of the French Army of the Rhine, General Degoutte, could deal only with the regular administrative authorities of the occupied territories.

Evidences of the complete harmony of the allied leaders in the Rhineland territory were seen by the *Echo du Rhin* in friendly and official visits paid General Degoutte, the French commander, by

General Robertson, head of the British Rhineland forces, and by General Allen, head of the American forces. The latter visit occurred on Jan. 30. The visit of General Michel, the Belgian commander, was announced at the same time.

A controversy between France and Switzerland concerning transportation on the Rhine between Basel and Strasbourg had aroused Swiss public opinion considerably by the beginning of February. The French plan to construct a seventy-mile canal along the Alsatian bank had been opposed by Switzerland and its commercial bodies, on the ground that it would reduce open traffic from 12,000,000 to 3,000,000 tons, would entail

controversies with French power stations, would allow the levy by the French of tolls, forbidden upon natural waterways by the Rhine transportation convention, would deprive Basel of the benefits of its natural geographical and commercial position, would unduly favor Upper Alsatian industry, would impair the activities of Rotterdam and result in increased freight charges upon necessary raw material required by Swiss industries.

The French plan depends upon the consent of the Rhine Traffic Commission, composed of international delegates, which is to meet within six months after the ratification of the treaty.

Denmark and the Slesvig Plebiscite

Germany Gets the South Zone

THERE was great jubilation throughout Denmark over the reunion with the first Slesvig zone on Feb. 10, which was hailed as the greatest event in a century of Danish history. Great public demonstrations were organized, and many exultant articles were published in the press, while enthusiastic speeches welcoming the repatriated people were delivered in both the Landsting and Folkething.

The fierce factional strife arising from the campaign in the second plebiscite zone almost precipitated a Cabinet crisis in Copenhagen, due to the Government's endorsement of the position taken by H. P. Hanssen-Norremolle, the new Minister for South Jutland, and President of the North Slesvig Electoral Society. Mr. Hanssen-Norremolle, on the occasion of his return from the victory in North Slesvig, when he was car-





FISHER FOLK OF SOUTH JUTLAND CELEBRATING THE RETURN OF SLESVIG TO DENMARK AFTER FIFTY-FOUR YEARS UNDER THE PRUSSIAN FLAG

(Times Wide World Photo)

ried by 20,000 rejoicing Danes in a gilt chair to the royal palace, voiced this view with the remark that he wished, in regard to the second zone, "to see Denmark go only so far south in Slesvig as Danish hearts beat." The Government, for its approval of this attitude, had been censured by the Landsting on Dec. 3.

Even after the departure of the Noske Guards from Flensburg, Jan. 25, and the substitution there of a Danish Chief of Police, the International Plebiscite Commission had a difficult situation to cope with, due to acts of violence and other efforts at intimidation by the Germans against the Danes. On Feb. 19 the commission passed several measures for the re-establishment of public order, and created a Commission Tribunal to deal with infractions of its regulations. A great demonstration was made in Copenhagen on March 8 in favor of the reunion of Flensburg with Denmark, and King Christian addressed, from a balcony, 50,000 people who had marched in a procession to the royal palace. This movement had gained many ad-

herents since August, 1919. When the plebiscite for the southern or Flensburg zone was held on March 14, however, the result favored Germany. With four districts still to be heard from at the time these pages went to press, the unofficial returns showed that the Danes were defeated in the Flensburg zone in practically the same proportion as were the Germans in the first Slesvig zone—about three to one. That is, 48,148 votes were cast for Germany and 13,025 for Denmark. Only the districts of Goting, Hedehusum and Uttersum showed Danish majorities.

The International Commission had provided against election-day disturbances by planting machine guns at all strategic positions about Flensburg, and had detailed armed squads to patrol the town. But the next morning the Germans became very arrogant; a mob wrecked the newspaper office of the Flensburg Avis, and several Danes were threatened with shouts of: "Tomorrow all Danes must leave town—we will prepare a St. Bartholomew's night." The Copenhagen press agreed that it would be folly to

wish the return of the Flensburg area with such a German showing. Denmark had waived the right to a plebiscite in the most southern of the three zones originally offered by the Peace Conference, because of the obviously German majority there.

Meanwhile, the Rigsdag has been carrying on vehement debates over a Government proposition for an amendment of the Constitution and a revision of the electoral law. The bill is framed for the purpose of admitting the Slesvigers to representation under conditions as democratic as they would find under the German Republic. Men and women of Slesvig over 20 years old can vote on the reunion, but under present Danish law they would be excluded from the exercise of full citizenship rights until almost the age of 40 years. The proposed

change calls for a lowering of the voting age to 21 for the Folkething and 25 for the Landsting, and for an increase in the number of representatives in both houses. The Government further proposes a democratization of the Landsting and the abolition of the King's right to declare war and peace.

On March 10 the Governments of Denmark, Sweden and Norway announced their decision to become members of the League of Nations.

At the conference of the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway at Christiania, which adjourned Feb. 4, they decided to call a meeting of financial experts of all their countries to study methods of remedying the fall in Scandinavian exchange. A proposal for an International Financial Congress at Amsterdam was approved.

The Fiume Controversy

A SENSATION was created in Paris and London by President Wilson's note of Feb. 10, protesting in the most energetic terms against the new Adriatic settlement reached by the allied Premiers, and dictated in ultimatum form to Jugoslavia on Jan. 20. The President pointed out that this new arrangement was a complete reversal of the decision reached by the Allies in co-operation with America on Dec. 9, and insisted that this earlier solution be upheld, warning the Premiers that he would otherwise be compelled to recall the treaty with Germany from the Senate, and to withdraw from further participation in the European settlement. This drastic intimation elicited a reply which sought to defend the new arrangement, and earnestly appealed to Mr. Wilson not to "wreck the whole machinery for dealing with international disputes" by withdrawing the collaboration of America.

In his reply Mr. Wilson justified his objections to the new agreement, declar-

ing it to be in contradiction to the principles for which the war was fought; he suggested that new parleys be begun between Italy and Jugoslavia with a view to finding a solution acceptable to both. The allied Premiers' rejoinder, offering to withdraw both the decision of Jan. 20 and Dec. 9 to facilitate the reaching of such a new agreement, was met by the President on March 4 with a firm refusal to consent to the withdrawal of the earlier agreement or to the application of the Treaty of London, on which, in case no agreement was reached, the Allies insisted as an alternative.

New negotiations begun between the Italian and Jugoslav Ministers in London, following the President's letter of Feb. 24, were broken off on March 1, and no agreement was reached. The correspondence between Mr. Wilson and the allied Premiers, with all new documents and facts bearing on the case, will be treated fully in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY



New York lawyer and former member of Shipping Board, appointed
Secretary of State, succeeding Robert Lansing

(C) Harris & Ewing

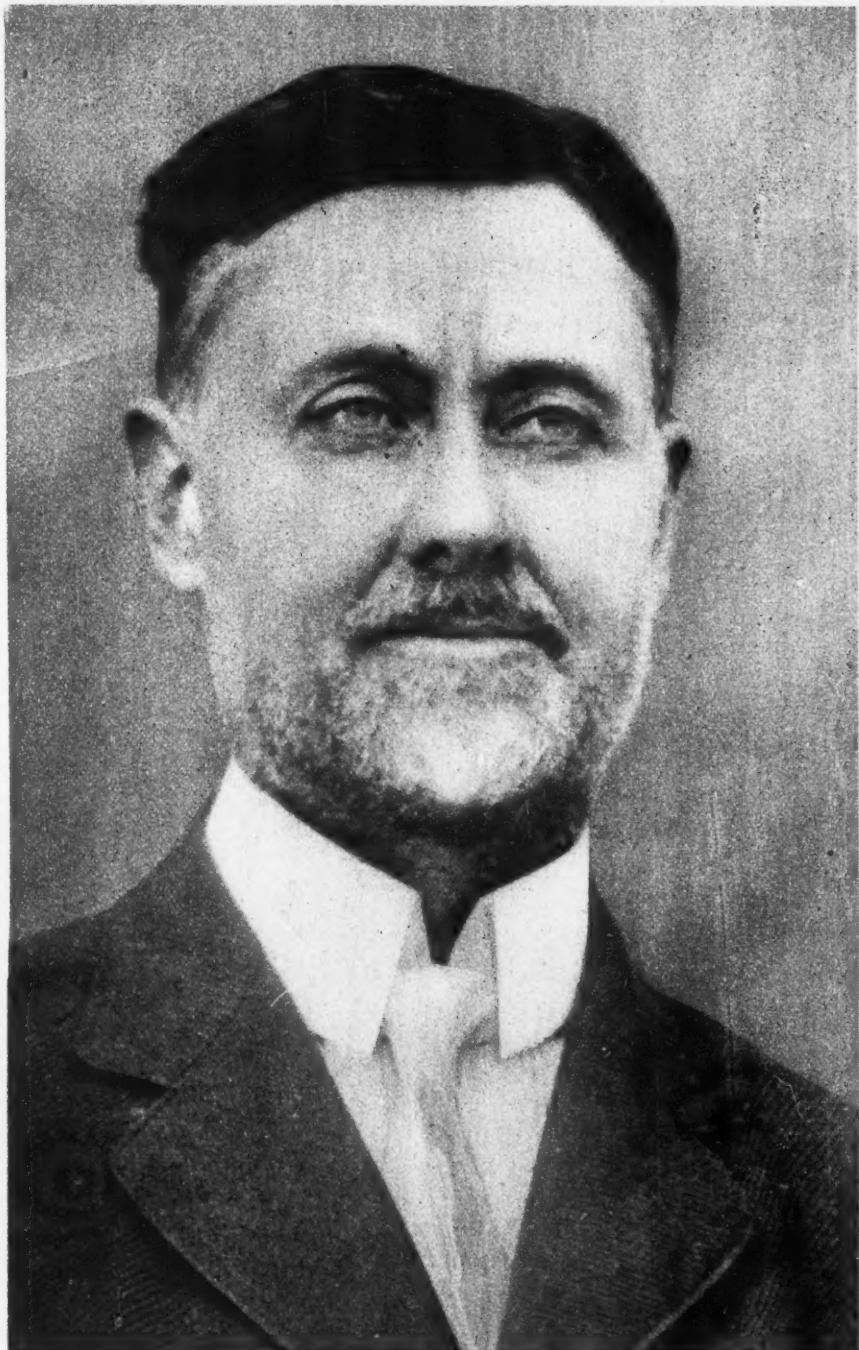
JOHN BARTON PAYNE



Chicago jurist and former Chairman of Shipping Board, appointed
Secretary of the Interior, to succeed Franklin K. Lane

(© Harris & Ewing)

CHARLES R. CRANE



Chicago manufacturer who has been appointed Minister to China, to
succeed Dr. Paul Reinsch

(© Keystone View Co.)



SIR
AUCKLAND
GEDDES

Recently appointed British Ambassador to the United States. At the time of his appointment he was President of the British Board of Trade. Before that he had been Minister for National Service and Reconstruction. He put through the bill against post-bellum profiteering. Formerly a professor in McGill University, Canada. He is a graceful and fluent speaker and has been called the "mouthpiece of the coalition."

(British and Colonial Press)

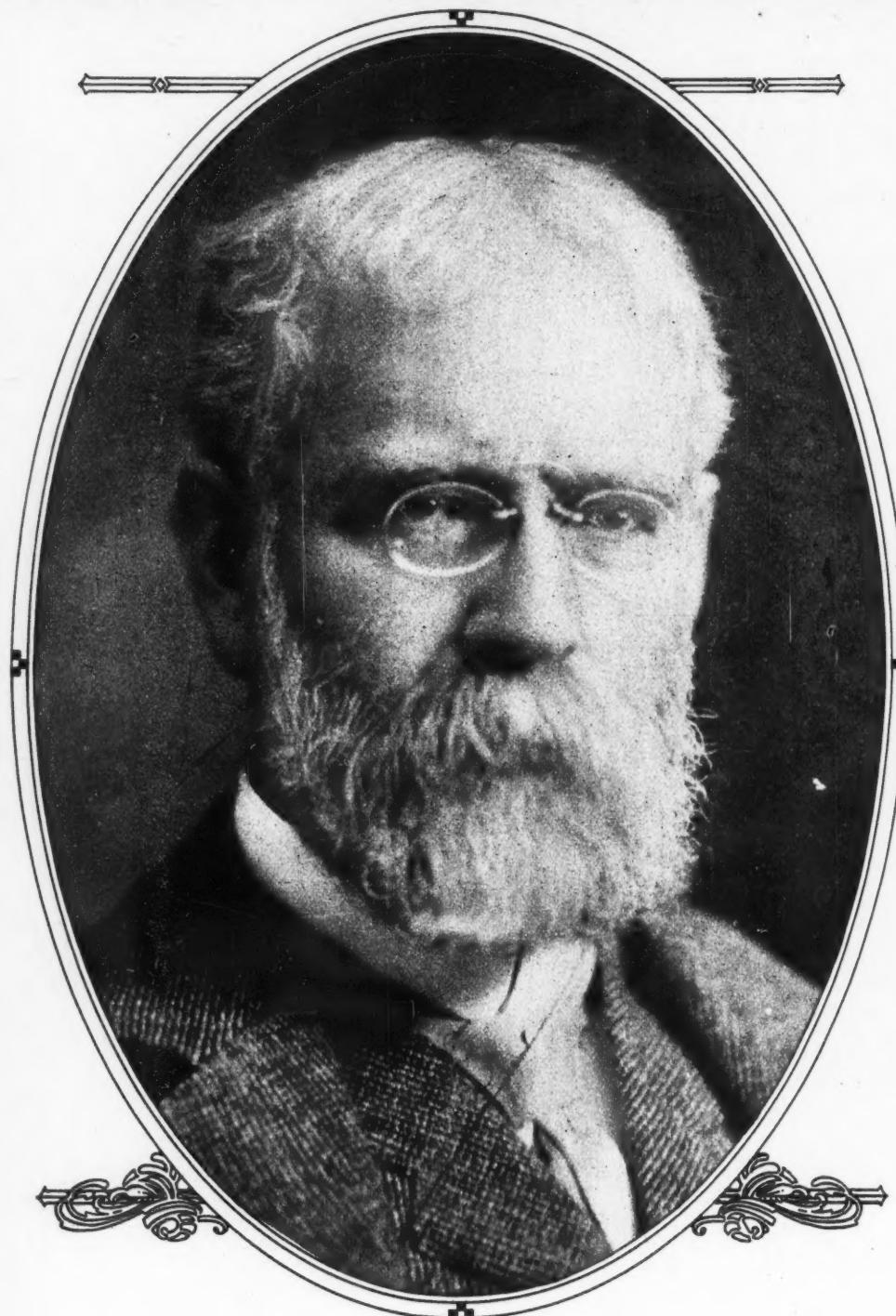
HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH



Former British Premier and his wife receiving congratulations at the
moment of his re-election to Parliament

(© Underwood & Underwood)

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON



Author, poet, and magazine editor, appointed American Ambassador
to Italy, succeeding Thomas Nelson Page

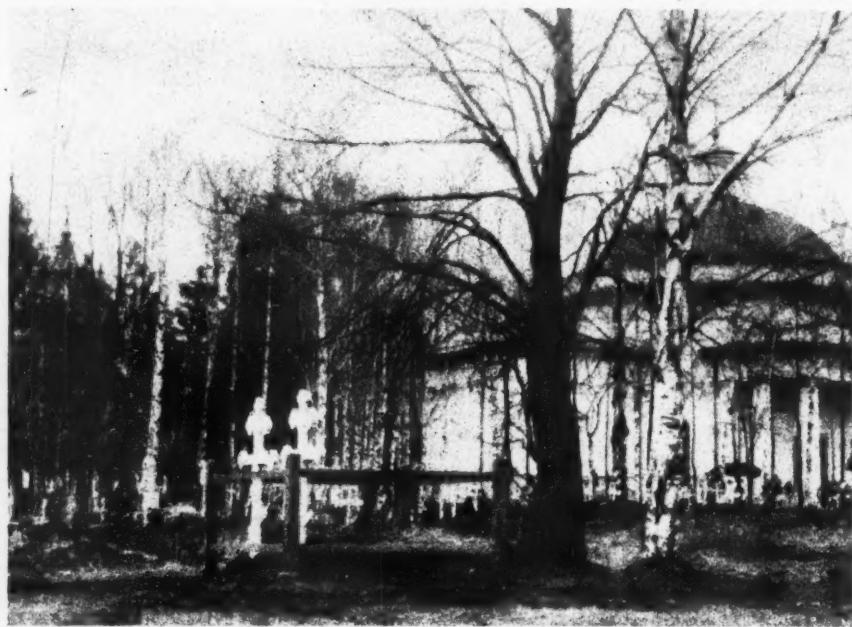
COLONEL FRANKLIN D'OLIER



National Commander of the American Legion, the organization of
American Veterans of the World War

(See *Illustrated Ewing*)

BURIAL PLACE OF FORMER CZAR OF RUSSIA.



Abandoned mine shaft near Ekaterinburg, into which, it is believed, the bodies of the murdered ex-Czar and his family were thrown



Temporary grave at Ekaterinburg in which are buried the remains of the ex-Czar and his family, exhumed from mine shaft

(Photos Wide World Service)

Belgium's Wonderful Recovery

Survey of Recent Progress

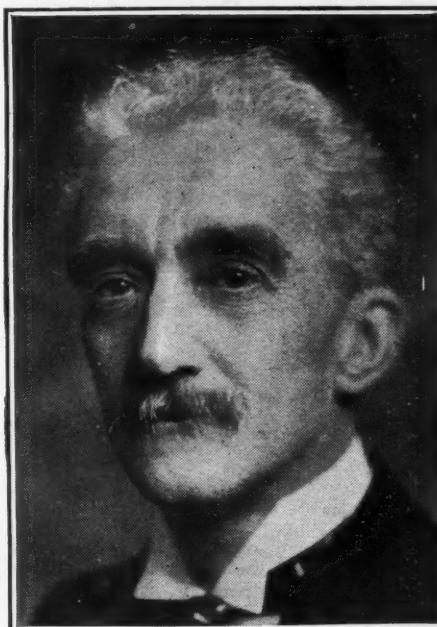
ACCORDING to the reports of the United States Trade Commissioner at Brussels, C. E. Herring, as well as statements made by the various departments of the Belgian Government, Belgium, all but about one-eleventh of whose territory of 11,373 square miles had been for four years occupied, pillaged, devastated, combed for its last strand of flax, squeezed for its last drop of wine, sifted for its last speck of gold by the Germans, with a seventh of its population toiling like slaves in Germany and the balance kept alive at home by food largely contributed by the United States, has been first to reach a normal state, and, after sixteen months of feverish activity, now leads all the European belligerents in rehabilitation.

One year after the armistice Belgium was the first to cease rationing her people. She had reduced the cost of living from 1,110 per cent. above normal to 244 per cent. At the end of the war nearly 1,000,000 persons were out of work. By February, 1920, no one was out of work unless he wished to be. Eighty-seven per cent. of the coal mines, 100 per cent. of the railways, and 75 per cent. of the textile factories had recovered their pre-war average. The tax returns for the first six months of the fiscal year 1919-20 had been estimated at \$60,000,000; the actual returns were nearly a third over that sum. In the year before the war the trade of Belgium, export, import, and transit, amounted to \$1,725,000,000; in 1919 it amounted to \$1,022,000,000. In 1913 imports worth \$100,000,000 came from the United States; in the first ten months of 1919 imports from the same country were valued at \$300,000,000.

Incidentally, Belgium has killed profit-eering by co-operative buying and selling. She borrowed \$250,000,000 at 5 per cent. from Great Britain and used \$55,000,000 of it to purchase material from the departing American Army. The

net profit, exclusive of the loss of that distributed freely, was \$5,000,000.

The last of Belgian industries to regain pre-war production, says Mr. Her-



PAUL HYMANS
Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs
(© Harris & Ewing)

ring, will be the iron and steel. He wrote:

At the time of the armistice, out of fifty-four blast furnaces in existence in Belgium in 1914, about thirty had been entirely destroyed or were so badly damaged as to necessitate extensive repairs. Of the 101 rolling mills operating in 1914 in the Province of Liège and Hainaut, twenty-nine were completely ruined in the former and a large number in the latter.

It was in these two districts, which comprise the great majority of metallurgical plants, that systematic destruction was carried on most assiduously. Thus of the twenty-three blast furnaces in the Liège district in 1914, ten were completely destroyed and nine considerably damaged. The rolling mills of five large plants in the same district were entirely demolished; out of the fifty-three mills operating in 1914 twenty-nine were en-

tirely destroyed and three seriously damaged. * * *

One striking instance of German sabotage may be cited. At the important Ougrée-Marihaye steel works, which produced 50,000 tons monthly before the war, about 44,000 metric tons of machinery and tools were scrapped and sent to Germany, about 4,000 tons of equipment and rolling stock were taken away intact, and 36,000 tons of raw materials were appropriated. The value of the destroyed machinery and materials was estimated at 45,000,000 francs, but replacement at present prices will greatly exceed this figure.

The work of recovering stolen machinery taken into Germany has proceeded satisfactorily, but the restoration of the ruined and damaged furnaces and mills will eventually necessitate, of course, many new installations, which must be made at the present inflated prices. * * *

In spite of the grave difficulties confronting the industry, there has been no weakness shown in the stocks of the various iron and steel plants. All those now in operation are booked far ahead with orders, and it is said that former customers in export markets are generally seeking to renew their pre-war arrangements.

When the production of coking coal in France and Germany can be increased and when the railways of France, Luxembourg and Belgium permit the prompt delivery of sufficient fuel and ore shipments, Belgian iron and steel products will again actively compete in the world's markets. The erection of new, thoroughly modern plants to replace those destroyed by the Germans will partially compensate for the present period of subnormal production and Belgium will resume its place as one of the leading steel-producing countries of the world.

Two things seems to make of Belgium's rapid revival a paradox. Labor Unionists are five times as numerous as they were in 1914, and in 1919 they called nearly 400 strikes. But the new laws have limited the power of the unions while increasing that of the State over both employer and employee, and of the 388 strikes 220 were settled by friendly arbitration and 50 by forced. The following data on wages and temperance are drawn from the reports of the Minister for Labor, M. Wauters, a Socialist member of the Government and one of the editors of *Le Peuple*:

Wages were formerly very low, but as a result of these strikes they are now, on an average, about three times their

pre-war level. They are usually reckoned in francs per hour, and the hours have been fixed in most trades at eight per day, with six days per week.

The lowest wages are those of agricultural laborers, which are 1 franc per hour. General laborers and lower grades of artisans and mechanics receive from 1.50 to 2 francs per hour. More highly skilled men obtain from 2 to 2.50 francs per hour. Miners obtain 2.50 to 3 francs per hour. Postmen are paid 8 francs a day with a seven-day week; tram conductors 12 francs a day; printers 18 to 19 francs a day. Workers in glass mills where window glass is produced earn from 250 to 300 francs a week; the diamond cutters of Antwerp get 400 francs a week.

Social reformers regard the alcohol restriction laws as having had an important effect on the output of labor, which since the armistice has been satisfactory, in spite of the strikes. In Belgium an important distinction was drawn between the sale of alcohol in the form of spirits and liquors and the sale of wines and beer. Beer and wine do not come within the scope of the alcohol restriction laws.

No spirits may now be sold for consumption on the premises in any café. Bottles may be sold for consumption off the premises, but these are taxed 18 francs a litre, by a law of Sept. 10, 1919. At the present rate of exchange this is equivalent to a tax of about \$2.25 a pint.

The total amount of pure alcohol which may be produced per month is now very greatly reduced by law. Out of the total quantity allowed—900,000 litres—only one-tenth is left to the distillers. One-tenth is sold to pre-war makers of liquors. All the rest goes to silk factories, chemists and photographers.

The result is that instead of drinking from 5 to 6 litres of pure alcohol per head per year, as before the war, the Belgians are now only drinking one-third of a litre.

It is believed that this reform has checked a growing tendency among the working classes to drink more spirits, and has encouraged more regular work and greater output. The restriction of the consumption of alcohol has been followed by a very large decrease in crimes committed under the influence of drink. Medical statistics show the almost complete disappearance of delirium tremens. Mental diseases have in general much decreased.

On March 3, 1920, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted in favor of woman suffrage, in communal elections, at and over 21 years of age. Several interesting features marked the debates: All the Catholics voted for the measure, and

for that reason the Socialists were divided between their policy of equality and their fear of religious influence. Paul Hymans, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, voted for it, but all the rest of

the Liberals were against it, as was Burgomaster Max, even after he had caused an amendment to be adopted excluding women of "notorious misconduct" from the ballot.

Senate's Rejection of the Treaty

By a Vote of 57 to 37 the United States Senate Again Refuses to Ratify the Peace of Versailles

THE United States Senate rejected the Peace Treaty with Germany on March 19, 1920. The vote on ratification lacked the necessary two-thirds majority by seven, the final vote, counting the pairs, being 57 for ratification, 37 against ratification. Politically the vote was divided as follows: For ratification, counting pairs, 34 Republicans, 23 Democrats; against, 15 Republicans, 24 Democrats. The vote took place late in the day. Immediately after the rejection a resolution was adopted, by a vote of 47 to 37, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has refused to advise and consent to its ratification, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor.

The effect of this action was to remove the treaty from the Senate and place the responsibility for any further initiative regarding peace with Germany upon the President.

The treaty had been laid before the Senate July 10, 1919, by the President. On Sept. 10 the Foreign Relations Committee had reported it to the Senate with certain reservations, which finally numbered fifteen. Meanwhile, President Wilson, in open conflict with the attitude of the Senate majority, began a speaking tour over the country in advocacy of the treaty without any reservations which would modify its meaning. This tour was discontinued Sept. 28 on account of the sudden illness of the President.

The Senate, on Nov. 19, voted on the

treaty with the fourteen reservations that had been adopted, and it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

In January the contending factions resumed their conferences, with a view to placing the treaty again before the Senate. On Feb. 9 the Senate reconsidered the vote by which ratification had been defeated, thus again bringing the question before that body, and the treaty was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The President again let it be known that he was strongly opposed to any reservations which would alter the provisions of the treaty, and expressed a willingness to have the whole question passed upon by the people in the Presidential election in November.

On Feb. 10 the treaty was reported back to the Senate with the same reservations which had failed of ratification in November. The Senate resumed the debate on Feb. 16, and it proceeded almost daily from that date until the final action on March 19.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

On March 8 the President again addressed Senator Hitchcock, who was leading the fight for the treaty, in a letter in which he reaffirmed his strong opposition to any changes in Article X. of the treaty, by which the signatories agreed to guarantee the territory of each other against external aggression. In this letter the President wrote:

Any reservation which seeks to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X. cuts at the very heart and life of the covenant itself. Any League of Nations which does not guarantee as a matter of incontestable right the political independence and integrity of each of its

members might be hardly more than a futile scrap of paper, as ineffective in operation as the agreement between Belgium and Germany which the Germans violated in 1914.

Article X. as written into the Treaty of Versailles represents the renunciation by Great Britain and Japan, which before the war had begun to find so many interests in common in the Pacific; by France, by Italy, by all the great fighting powers of the world, of the old pretensions of political conquest and territorial aggrandizement. It is a new doctrine in the world's affairs, and must be recognized, or there is no secure basis for the peace which the whole world so longingly desires and so desperately needs.

If Article X. is not adopted and acted upon, the Governments which reject it will, I think, be guilty of bad faith to their people, whom they induced to make the infinite sacrifices of the war by the pledge that they would be fighting to redeem the world from the old order of force and aggression. They will be acting also in bad faith to the opinion of the world at large, to which they appealed for support in a concerted stand against the aggressions and pretensions of Germany.

If we were to reject Article X. or so to weaken it as to take its full force out of it, it would mark us as desiring to return to the old world of jealous rivalry and misunderstandings from which our gallant soldiers have rescued us and would leave us without any vision or new conception of justice and peace. We would have learned no lesson from the war, but gained only the regret that it had involved us in its maelstrom of suffering. If America has awakened, as the rest of the world has, to the vision of a new day in which the mistakes of the past are to be corrected, it will welcome the opportunity to share the responsibilities of Article X.

It must not be forgotten, Senator, that the article constitutes a renunciation of all ambition on the part of powerful nations with whom we were associated in the war. It is by no means certain that without this article any such renunciation will take place. Militaristic ambitions and imperialistic policies are by no means dead, even in counsels of the nations whom we most trust and with whom we most desire to be associated in the tasks of peace.

Throughout the sessions of the conference in Paris it was evident that a militaristic party, under the most influential leadership, was seeking to gain ascendancy in the counsels of France. They were defeated then, but are in control now. The chief arguments advanced in Paris in support of the Italian claims on the

Adriatic were strategic arguments; that is to say, military arguments, which had at their back the thought of naval supremacy in that sea. For my own part, I am as intolerant of imperialistic designs on the part of other nations as I was of such designs on the part of Germany.

The choice is between two ideals; on the one hand, the ideal of democracy, which represents the right of free peoples everywhere to govern themselves, and on the other hand the ideal of imperialism which seeks to dominate by force and unjust power, an ideal which is by no means dead and which is earnestly held in many quarters still.

Every imperialistic influence in Europe was hostile to the embodiment of Article X. in the covenant of the League of Nations, and its defeat now would mark the complete consummation of their efforts to nullify the treaty. I hold the doctrine of Article X. as the essence of Americanism. We cannot repudiate it or weaken it without at the same time repudiating our own principles.

The imperialist wants no League of Nations, but if, in response to the universal cry of the masses everywhere, there is to be one, he is interested to secure one suited to his own purposes, one that will permit him to continue the historic game of pawns and peoples—the juggling of provinces, the old balances of power, and the inevitable wars attendant upon these things. The reservation proposed would perpetuate the old order. * * *

I need not say, Senator, that I have given a great deal of thought to the whole matter of reservations proposed in connection with the ratification of the treaty, and particularly that portion of the treaty which contains the covenant of the League of Nations, and I have been struck by the fact that practically every so-called reservation was in effect a rather sweeping nullification of the terms of the treaty itself.

I hear of reservationists and mild reservationists, but I cannot understand the difference between a nullifier and a mild nullifier. Our responsibility as a nation in this turning point of history is an overwhelming one, and if I had the opportunity I would beg every one concerned to consider the matter in the light of what it is possible to accomplish for humanity, rather than in the light of special national interests.

FRANCE INDIGNANT

The President's reference to the militarist spirit in France created an unpleasant impression in that country and was bitterly resented by the French newspapers and by leading French publicists of all shades of opinion.

The Senate was not in accord with the President's view. On March 15, after days of serious debate, it adopted a strong reservation respecting Article X. by a vote of 56 to 26; fourteen Democrats voted with the Republicans in adopting the reservation. The new reservation was even stronger than the one adopted in November. It read as follows:

The United States assumes no obligations to employ its military or naval forces, its resources or any form of economic discrimination to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose unless in any particular case the Congress, in the exercise of full liberty of action, shall by act or joint resolution so declare.

THE IRISH RESERVATION

A fifteenth reservation was adopted on the day preceding the final vote, and it created wide comment. It was as follows:

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such Government is attained by Ireland, a consummation which it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

This reservation was offered by Senator Gerry of Rhode Island; it was opposed by the Republican majority, but was passed by a vote of 38 to 36, the support coming from 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans; the Republicans avowedly against the treaty in any form voted solidly for the reservation.

The fourteenth reservation respecting the voting powers of the different

nations was adopted by the Senate as follows:

Until Part I., being the covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies or parts of empire, in the aggregate, shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate, have cast more than one vote.

The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

This action brought forth a declaration by the President of the Privy Council of Canada, N. W. Rowell, that if that reservation were accepted by the other powers Canada would withdraw from the League of Nations.

As indicative of the attitude of the Senate regarding certain reservations: the vote for a specific reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine was 58 to 22; on excluding domestic questions from the league the vote was 56 to 27; on equalizing the voting powers of this country and Great Britain the vote was 57 to 20; on refusing to accept any mandate without express authority of Congress the vote stood 64 to 4. On the proposition that the right to withdraw from the League was within the sole jurisdiction of Congress, whether or not the United States had fulfilled its obligations, the vote was 45 to 20; on the treaty clauses requiring Shantung to be given to Japan the reservation withholding the assent of the United States was adopted by a vote of 48 to 21; but no specific reference to either country was made.

America's Reconstruction Activities

Military, Naval and Economic Developments That Test the Statesmanship of the Nation's Leaders

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1920]

THE House Military Committee by a bi-partisan vote refused on Feb. 25 to include universal military training in the Army Reorganization bill. At the same time the Committee voted that military training should become the subject of separate legislation to be framed by a "friendly" sub-committee of seven named by Mr. Kahn, with an agreement of the leaders that its consideration would not be blocked after a thorough inquiry had been made of the cost and economic effects. This investigation is expected to delay action on the question until the next session.

With this temporary disposal of universal training, the committee voted, 10 to 6, to report the Reorganization bill, providing for a maximum peace-time army of 17,700 officers and 299,000 enlisted men, including the Philippine Scouts and unassigned recruits. The combat strength was authorized to be 250,000, the remainder of the force being absorbed in the supply and administrative services, and the Philippine Scouts and unassigned recruits. The infantry force was fixed at a maximum strength of 110,000 men and 4,200 officers, the cavalry at 20,500 men and 950 officers, the field artillery at 36,500 men and 1,900 officers, the coast artillery at 36,000 men and 1,200 officers and the air service at 16,000 men, including cadet fliers, and 1,514 officers.

On Washington's Birthday the Republic of France, through its representatives, rendered homage to American soldiers of the New York district who fell in the war. In a series of public gatherings held at various points in New York, in which distinguished soldiers of the allied armies participated, more than 6,000 "certificates of gratitude" were presented by representatives of the French Government to relatives and

friends of soldiers who died in defense of France's eastern frontiers.

Soldiers who have served overseas since July 11, 1919, will receive an increase of 20 per cent. on their entire back pay. The War Department announced Feb. 14 that the change was authorized under a recent decision of the Controller of the Treasury, and that a private on foreign service would receive \$36 instead of \$33. The increase is not payable for service in the Canal Zone, Panama, Porto Rico or Hawaii. It is estimated that from 250,000 to 300,000 soldiers will submit claims for back payment, and that it will require approximately \$1,800,000 to settle the claims.

OUR DEAD IN FRANCE

Secretary Baker, on March 12, informed Chairman Wadsworth of the Senate Military Committee that about 50,000 of the American dead in France will be returned to the United States, while between 20,000 and 25,000 will remain permanently interred overseas. The Secretary, who wrote in response to a Senate resolution, estimated the cost of returning the dead and concentrating the bodies remaining in cemeteries overseas at \$30,000,000.

Congestion of the French transportation systems and shortage of materials used in the manufacture of coffins are handicapping the work, Mr. Baker said.

While 111 bodies of American dead have been returned from Archangel, the same number still remain in Northern Russia, and it is improbable that anything can be done toward their removal for a year. Removal of the bodies from England is progressing, while in Italy all bodies have been concentrated, ready for return to this country.

Drastic reduction of permanent officers of the army from their temporary ranks to regular army grades, effective

March 15, was ordered by General March, Chief of Staff, on Feb. 29. Of approximately 3,000 officers holding temporary ranks higher than their permanent appointments, about 2,000 were to be returned to their regular status. Field officers only were affected. The number of officers holding General rank is now within the allowance, and there will be no cut in the grades of those below the rank of Major. The bulk of demotions was expected to come from the bureaus in Washington.

Under the commonly termed 18,000 officers law, which authorized that number of officers as the temporary maximum, all emergency officers must be discharged by July 1, unless additional legislation is enacted. There were approximately 7,800 regular officers holding temporary rank at the signing of the armistice. Reductions have been made from time to time since Nov. 11, 1918, in accordance with the policy announced by Secretary Baker of demoting officers as soon as the emergency duty which justified the higher grade has been completed, with the result that to date more than 4,000 demotions have occurred.

BONUSES FOR SOLDIERS

By a vote of 325 to 4, the House on Feb. 26 adopted a rule referring all bills dealing with soldiers' bonuses to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report a comprehensive measure for monetary and land bonuses for soldiers of the World War. This action resulted from a threatened revolt by forty Republicans who had recently informed the Republican steering committee that they would call a caucus of House Republicans unless the original plan of the House leaders to postpone the consideration of bonuses to soldiers was abandoned. It was finally agreed by the forty Republicans that the caucus would be delayed if the bills were referred to the Ways and Means Committee, with the understanding that a bonus bill would be reported at this session.

The agitation for a soldiers' bonus, stimulated by the American Legion, has become so strong that members of Congress now believe that political exigency will force the enactment of such legis-

lation before Congress takes a recess for the national conventions. Representative Mondell, the Republican House leader, who was one of the strongest advocates of bonuses, said recently that the state of finances would not permit such an expenditure.

In a hearing March 2 before the committee, Franklin D'Olier, President of the American Legion, suggested that soldiers who did not desire an allotment of land should receive \$50 a month for the term of service. This plan, he said, was the one which had received the approval of the legion's Executive Committee.

"In accordance with resolutions passed at the National Convention of the American Legion," he said, "its National Beneficial Legislation Committee is now ready to submit recommendations for legislation covering four features, as follows:

1. Land settlement covering farms in all States, and not confined to a few States.
2. Home aid to encourage purchase of homes in either country or city.
3. Vocational training for all ex-service persons desiring it.
4. Adjustment of compensation or final adjustment of extra back pay based on length of service for those not desiring to avail themselves of any one of the previous three features.

The ex-service person has his option of any one, and only one, of the above four features, and only upon his application.

If bonuses are granted by the present Congress to American World War soldiers, new taxes will be required, and in the opinion of members of the Ways and Means Committee a selling tax, about the only means of taxation unexhausted, must be applied.

OUR NAVAL POLICY

Three provisional naval building programs, dependent on Senate action on the Peace Treaty, were laid before the House Naval Committee, March 6, by Secretary Daniels. If the United States ratified the treaty and became a member of the League of Nations, Mr. Daniels said, he would recommend new construction only to "round out" the fleet now built or building; if the Senate rejected the treaty [which it did later] and the United States definitely decided not to join the League, he said he would urge

duplication of the three-year program of 1916, with some modifications, with a view of making the fleet "incomparably the greatest in the world."

In case the Senate took no final action on the treaty at this session of Congress the Secretary said he would present a sixty-nine-ship program for construction as rapidly as possible in order that the United States might not lose ground in competitive naval building. This program, he said, would cost about \$195,000,000.

It was announced on March 14 that all three of the provisional programs had been disapproved by the House Naval Sub-committee, which decided upon an appropriation of \$72,000,000 for continuing the unfinished 1916 program as the only ship construction fund to be provided for the next fiscal year.

REPORT ON NAVAL AWARDS

A report of the Senate Naval Affairs Sub-committee, which investigated the controversy between Admiral Sims and Secretary Daniels over the award of naval honors, was made public in Washington March 7. The majority report, signed by Senators Hale, Poindexter and McCormick, criticised the general policy of awarding honors to commanders who lost their ships, although it found that where such commanders displayed heroic service they should not be made ineligible for honors.

This point had formed one of the bitterest issues between Admiral Sims and Secretary Daniels, and centred upon the fact that Secretary Daniels ignored the recommendations of the board in the case of Commander D. W. Bagley, his brother-in-law. Commander Bagley lost his ship in peculiar circumstances, and was recommended by Admiral Sims and the Knight Board for a Navy Cross. Secretary Daniels awarded him a Distinguished Service medal.

That the controversy might end satisfactorily to officers and men in the navy, the majority recommended that the report of the reconvened Knight Board, now in session, be followed. The board was reconvened late in December, after Admiral Sims attacked the awards, and

began its sessions on Jan. 5. Its report is expected in the next few weeks, and Secretary Daniels has indicated his intention to accept its recommendations as final.

ADMIRAL SIMS TESTIFIES

Admiral Sims, testifying on March 9 and succeeding days before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, outlined the specific points on which he based his criticisms. His criticisms, he said, were directed at the policies pursued in the first six months of the conflict, and not at individuals. In calling attention to what he considered failure of the Navy Department to give the Allies full co-operation at first, he said that he had "nothing to gain and everything to lose." Only a high sense of his duty as a naval officer and solicitude for the future naval policy of the country, he said, impelled him to point out grave mistakes in naval administration.

Basic criticisms of the navy's policies were said by the Admiral to be:

That during the early period of the war the department violated fundamental principles of warfare, leading to a prolongation of hostilities and needless loss of lives and money.

That the policies of the department in the last half of the war were identical with recommendations rejected during the first six months.

That if the department had had its proper plans when the nation entered the war they should have been placed in effect at once.

That mistakes, if any were made, should be carefully reviewed, to avoid a future recurrence and to help mold future national defense policies.

The United States entered the war with the navy unprepared, he said, although war had been a possibility for two years and American forces on the sea were not in the highest state of readiness. Owing to these conditions, the witness added, the navy failed for at least six months to throw its full force against the enemy.

Admiral Sims charged that it was three months after the United States entered the war before he received a statement of the Navy Department's policy; that for seven months the department failed even to answer his

cables with regard to sending battleships and then denied the request, but a month later reversed its position and ordered the Sixth Battle Squadron abroad; that he first urged the dispatch of all available tugs to the war zone on April 23, 1917, but no tugs arrived until a year later, although forty-three were available to the Navy Department the day war was declared, in addition to many owned by private concerns; that although he asked on June 28, 1917, that American submarines be sent to the war zone to help combat U-boats, it was four months before his request was complied with, and then but five submersibles were sent, five more arriving four months later.

On March 18 Admiral Sims, concluding his direct testimony, declared that he had no "well founded" recommendations to make as to remedies. This was because responsibility for conditions could only be determined after full investigation of his charges.

PACKERS ENJOINED

The agreed decree under which the "Big Five" packers are forever enjoined from engaging in any line of business other than that of handling meat and meat products was filed Feb. 27 in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Counsel for the packers said in a statement to the court that the decree had been agreed to by the defendants, "not because of guilt, for they have not violated any law, but that the American people may be assured that there is not the remotest possibility of a food monopoly by the packers."

After hearing statements by counsel for the Government and the packers Chief Justice McCoy signed the injunction making effective the agreement.

In a statement commenting on the effect of the divorcement decree Attorney General Palmer said:

The decree, which the Department of Justice has brought about by urgent insistence, is designed to restore freedom of competition and increase the opportunities for individual initiative in business, which must in time bear good fruit for the public welfare.

The decree, which involves reorganization of a great industry with assets of

more than \$1,000,000,000, and which affects eighty-seven corporations and forty-nine individuals, results from an agreement between the larger meat packers and the Department of Justice announced on Dec. 18. This agreement was reached after the department, at the direction of President Wilson, had instituted anti-trust proceedings against the packers in Chicago.

LIVING COST SOARING

Reports received by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor from retail dealers in fifty cities and published Feb. 28 indicated that the cost of living was still on the increase. These figures showed an increase of 9 per cent. since January, 1919, and an increase of 104 per cent. since January, 1913. The comparisons were based on the average retail prices of the following articles, weighted, according to the consumption of the average family: Sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, chuck roast, plate beef, pork chops, bacon, ham, lard, hens, flour, cornmeal, eggs, butter, milk, bread, potatoes, sugar, cheese, rice, coffee and tea.

During the month from Dec. 15, 1919, to Jan. 15, 1920, twenty-nine of the forty-four articles of food for which prices were secured in 1919 increased as follows: Cabbage, 33 per cent.; potatoes, 26 per cent.; granulated sugar, 23 per cent.; onions, 11 per cent.; lamb and rolled oats, 8 per cent. each; hens, 7 per cent.; plate beef, 6 per cent.; flour, 5 per cent.; sirloin steak, rib roast, chuck roast, bread and cream of wheat, 4 per cent. each; round steak and raisins, 3 per cent. each; canned salmon and rice, 2 per cent. each; ham, evaporated milk, macaroni, baked beans, tea, coffee and bananas, 1 per cent. each. Bacon, nut margarine, cheese and crisco each increased less than five-tenths of 1 per cent.

Potatoes increased 238 per cent. and granulated sugar 207 per cent. for the seven-year period from January, 1913, to January, 1920. This means that the price in January of this year was more than three times what it was in 1913. The price of nine other articles more than doubled during this period: Pork

chops, 101 per cent.; lamb, 202 per cent.; rice, 110 per cent.; cornmeal, 120 per cent.; lard, 121 per cent.; strictly fresh eggs, 123 per cent.; storage eggs, 143 per cent., and flour, 145 per cent.

NEW FUEL CONTROL

President Wilson on Feb. 28 issued executive orders providing for continuation of the powers of the Fuel Administration, but dividing them between the Director General of Railroads and a commission of four. The commission will be composed of A. W. Howe, Rembrandt Peale, F. M. Whittaker and J. F. Fisher. It will function through the Tidewater Coal Exchange, which had been suspended before the resignation of Dr. Garfield as Fuel Administrator. The order creating the commission is effective until April 30. A second order, investing Mr. Hines with the powers of Fuel Administrator so far as domestic distribution is concerned, said doubt had arisen as to whether he could continue to exercise those powers after the return of the railroads to private control. A new order was therefore issued extending Mr. Hines's authority beyond the date of the return.

Attorney General Palmer announced March 11 that up to date 1,046 actions had been brought against alleged profiteers, hoarders and other violators of the Lever Food Control act. He expressed the opinion that the prosecutions and the activities of the Department of Justice agents in forcing hoarded foodstuffs

upon the market had been instrumental in preventing prices from going above the present level. The Department of Justice announcement added:

Large quantities of foodstuffs have been forced upon the market under proper supervision by means of the procedure prescribed in the Food Control act.

COAL WAGE AWARD

The commission appointed by President Wilson to adjust the differences between operators and miners in the bituminous coal fields offered a majority and minority report on March 11. The former recommended a general wage increase of 25 per cent. without any change in working hours or conditions. The minority report favored 35 per cent. increase and a seven-hour day. Secretary Green of the United Mine Workers said he was satisfied that an agreement would be reached which would prevent further trouble of a serious nature in the coal fields. The increase recommended in the majority report means, in the event of its acceptance, that operators and miners will be called upon by the President to enter into a contract whereby 11 to 12 per cent. will be added to the 14 per cent. increase which was granted to the miners by the operators when the recent coal strike was called off.

Acceptance of the recommendations of the majority will mean an increase in the cost of coal to the consumer sufficient at least to cover the additional 11 or 12 per cent.

New Epoch for American Railways

Law Governing Their Operation

IN accordance with President Wilson's proclamation, the railroads, which during the greater part of the war were under Government control, were returned to individual ownership and management on March 1, 1920. The change was effected easily and without any notable developments. In many cases the same officials took charge who had served the roads before the war. Over 1,400 centralized offices were dis-

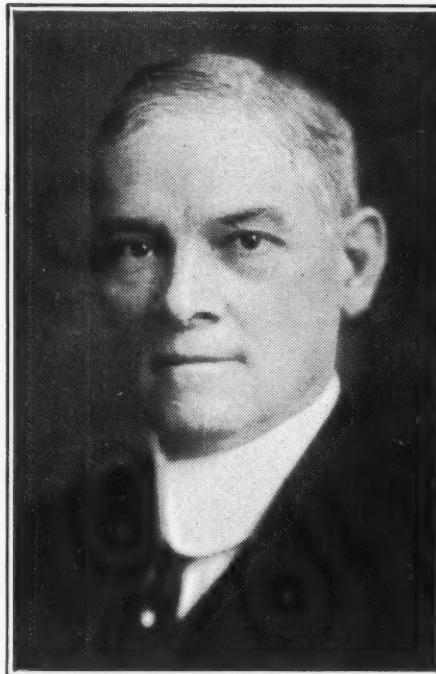
banded, but most of the employes found employment under the new régimes.

The Esch-Cummins law, under whose provisions the railroads are to operate, was passed by the House on Feb. 21 by a vote of 250 to 150. The Senate adopted the bill on Feb. 23 by a vote of 47 to 17. The President signed it on Feb. 28, and the measure became a law.

The preparation of the bill had been most difficult, owing to the complexity

and magnitude of the problems involved and the opposition encountered from various interests. The representatives of labor had been especially active, and had secured the elimination of the clause prohibiting strikes under penalty of imprisonment. They were not successful,

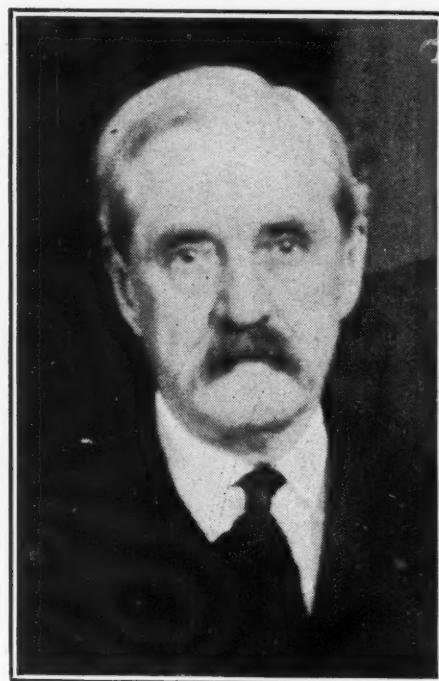
with a tenure of office of five years and an annual compensation of \$10,000. It is to be known as the Railroad Labor Board. All the members are to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate—three of its members upon the nomination of employes, three upon the nomination of the employers, and three, without restrictions, to represent the public. All controversies respecting wages or salaries are to be sub-



EDGAR E. CLARK
Chairman Interstate Commerce Commission
(© Harris & Ewing)

however, in securing any provision for a wage increase. Because of this the American Federation of Labor and the four great railway brotherhoods asked the President to veto the bill. They were joined in this request by the Farmers' National Council. The President refused to veto the bill, and also declined to grant their request to appoint a special wage tribunal to pass upon the pending demand for increases in pay. He declared that he believed the board provided for in the bill would not only be fair and just, but would be found to be particularly in the interest of railroad employes as a class.

The tribunal referred to by the President is to be composed of nine members,



ALBERT B. CUMMINS
United States Senator from Iowa
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mitted to this board, and also all other disputes not decided by the boards of adjustment which seem likely to result in a substantial interruption of commerce. Decisions by the Railroad Labor Board are to be made by a majority vote, but no decision can be made unless at least one of the members representing the public joins in the decision.

One of the main objections of the railroad unions to the Labor Board created under the new law had been that the representatives of the public would be

prejudiced against labor. The President denied that this would be the case.

The point was made by the President that the Labor Board was required to provide wages commensurate with standards paid for work in other industries, and was also empowered to prescribe sufficient rates to pay for reasonable operating expenses of the railways, including wages. This last statement was taken to mean a hint of coming rate



JOHN J. ESCH
Congressman from Wisconsin
(Photo Bain News Service)

increases, particularly as a suggestion of that kind was included in the annual report of Director General Hines.

Other features of the law are:

1. A vast extension of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. Competition is encouraged, but the competition is to be between systems rather than individual roads; merging of certain lines into systems is to be allowed.
3. For a period of six months, to Sept. 1, 1920, the railroads are guaranteed operating income equal to their compensation under Government control.
4. For the same period existing wages cannot be reduced, nor can rates be reduced without the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
5. For a period of two years after March 1,

1920, a return of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. plus an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for betterments is designated by Congress as a fair return on the value of railroad property.

6. The net indebtedness of a carrier to the Government may be funded at the option of the carrier.

7. One-half of all earnings of individual carriers in excess of 6 per cent. on the ascertained value of their property shall be paid to the Government.

8. A \$300,000,000 revolving fund is created to assist the carriers in financing their requirements during the transition period immediately following the relinquishment of Federal control.

The financial and other features of the new law were generally regarded as establishing a solid basis for future justice to investors in railway securities as well as to railway employees and the public.

An illuminating explanation of the meaning of the act was made by Senator Joseph T. Robinson, member of the Conference Committee which fused the Esch and Cummins bills into the present law. Some of the points he brought out may be summarized as follows:

The old rates of fares and transportation charges in effect on Feb. 29, 1920, are to continue in force until changed by the State or Federal authorities, but prior to Sept. 1, 1920, they will not be reducible, except on approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of the main duties of this commission will be to fix and make public a rate representing a fair return commensurate with the aggregate value of the property of all the carriers. A basic rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was fixed by Congress, but the commission was empowered to add to this maximum $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to cover improvements or expenses of equipment.

Whatever rate shall be fixed will not bind the Government to guarantee any deficit ensuing from the application of the rate established. The rate assigned will be based wholly on the real value of the property held and used for transportation, and will have no relation to holdings of stocks and bonds.

Of all net earnings in excess of 6 per cent., one-half is to be set aside as a reserve fund for the carriers, usable only when such fund totals 5 per cent. of total value; the other half is to be paid to the

commission, and to constitute a general railroad contingent fund to be used to aid needy carriers and to secure equipment necessary in the interests of the public.

The rights of non-union labor to be heard before the Labor Board are upheld, though unorganized labor has no direct representation on this board. Representation of the public on the board, much criticised by labor, was made imperative, on the ground that eventually it is the public which always has to pay. Consideration of all the special circumstances on which the wage scale was to

be fixed has resulted in effect in a bill of rights for labor, providing for equalization as compared with other industries, the cost of living, the hazards of employment, training and skill required, degree of responsibility and the elimination of inequalities resulting from previous wage orders or adjustments.

No penalties are provided for use in enforcing the decisions of the board, as it is believed that publicity and public opinion will suffice to bring about compliance on the part of both the carriers and the workers.

Supreme Court Decision in the Steel Case

IN a decision handed down March 1 the Federal Supreme Court held that the United States Steel Corporation is not a trust in the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust law. The opinion was read by Justice McKenna and was concurred in by Chief Justice White and Justices Holmes and Vandeveanter. A dissenting opinion was rendered by Justices Clarke, Pitney and Day, and was read by the latter. Two Justices, Brandeis and McReynolds, had abstained from any expression of opinion. The reason for this on the part of Justice McReynolds was that he had been Attorney General at the time the Government dissolution suit was instituted. Justice Brandeis, before his elevation to the Supreme bench, had in 1911 expressed an opinion that the Steel Corporation was in fact a trust.

The majority opinion held, in effect, that the Steel Corporation had committed no overt acts violative of the Sherman law since the Government's suit was filed; that though by its size and its control of equipment the corporation was in a position to dominate the trade, this was not to be considered, since there was no actual evidence that it did so. Finally—and this was the striking feature of the decision—it was held that to order the dissolution of the corporation would involve the risk of great disturbance to the financial and economic structure, and thus would menace the public interest, which was of paramount importance.

The dissenting opinion contended that the decision, by not conforming with the precedent established in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Company cases, constituted an annulment of the Sherman law. It also held that no alleged public interest could give sanction to a violation of law, and no disturbance of foreign or domestic commerce could justify the abrogation of statutes.

The majority opinion justified its departure from the precedents established in the oil and tobacco cases, on the ground that in the steel case there was no evidence, as in the other two, that the corporation had from its inception been a lawbreaker. Regarding this, it said in part:

In the tobacco case, as in the Standard Oil case, the court had to deal with a persistent and systematic lawbreaker, masquerading under legal forms, and which not only had to be stripped of its disguises but arrested in its illegality. A decree of dissolution was the manifest instrumentality and inevitable. We think it would be a work of sheer supererogation to point out that a decree in that case or in the Standard Oil case furnishes no example for a decree in this.

The decree, it is thought, will have an important bearing on many anti-trust cases now pending, such as the suits instituted against the Sugar Trust, Eastman Kodak Company, Reading Railroad Company, Keystone Watch Company, and others. By some it is pointed to as justifying the agreement reached

without suit by Attorney General Palmer with the packers. Others construe it as a notification to "big business" that, despite size and magnitude of resources, any so-called trust will be immune from prosecution during good behavior.

While somewhat of weight was lost

to the decree by the fact that it was not rendered by a full bench, and also that three out of the seven members participating vigorously dissented, it was generally recognized that it would have a most important influence on the whole anti-trust program of the Attorney General's office.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1920]

UNITED STATES CABINET CHANGES

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, a lawyer of New York, was nominated by the President on Feb. 25 to succeed Robert Lansing as Secretary of State. This nomination met with considerable opposition in the Senate. A graduate of a New England college, Mr. Colby had come to New York in 1892. His political career was marked from the start by independent tendencies. He left the Republican Party in 1912 to support Mr. Roosevelt. When the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes on the Republican ticket was indorsed by Mr. Roosevelt in 1916, Mr. Colby refused to follow, and came out for Wilson. Since that time he has been a warm supporter of the President and of his policies. As a member of the Shipping Board Mr. Colby vigorously opposed the effort of British interests to obtain control of former vessels of the International Mercantile Marine transferred to American registry. He was closely associated with Sir Joseph Maclay, British Minister of Shipping. Later he was in Paris in connection with the Peace Conference. He has been a convinced advocate of the League of Nations, and in an address delivered on Feb. 18 he paid a warm tribute to President Wilson as its initiator. The Senate named a committee to examine into his qualifications, and Mr. Colby himself appeared before this committee by request. Early confirmation of his appointment was expected when these pages went to press.

A peculiar state of affairs had developed on March 15 with the expiration

of the tenure of Frank L. Polk as Acting Secretary of State. Owing to the delay of the Senate in confirming Bainbridge Colby's appointment, the State Department was left without a head. Mr. Polk continued to serve, but his functions were considerably curtailed. He was unable to attest signatures, to issue proclamations or to authorize passports. The passport situation was said to be the most urgent and the most embarrassing. As against the usual yearly average of 20,000, about 23,000 passports were issued in January and February of this year, and 14,000 up to the middle of March. Applications for passports made by or before midnight of March 14 would not be granted until the office of Secretary of State was filled.

Following his resignation as Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, in a valedictory letter sent to President Wilson on Feb. 28, his last day of office, made sharp criticism of Governmental methods in Washington as he had found them during his seven years of Cabinet service. Governmental work in the various departments, he asserted, was poorly organized; every one seemed afraid of every one else, and evaded responsibility, and the creative sense was blunted. He suggested as a partial remedy the appointment of fewer men, but men of greater capacity.

As Mr. Lane's successor the President appointed John Barton Payne, who has been Chairman of the Shipping Board, his appointment to become effective on March 1. Mr. Payne stated that he had accepted the new post at the wish of

the President, though his heart was in the Shipping Board. He was born at Pruntytown, Va., sixty-four years ago. Admitted to the bar at the age of 21, he occupied in rapid succession the offices of Chairman of the Democratic County Committee, Judge of the Circuit Court, and Mayor of Kingwood, W. Va. After moving to Chicago he soon became known as one of the ablest lawyers of that city. In 1893 he was elected a Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. In 1892 he entered a large and well-known legal firm. During the war he was general counsel to the United States Shipping Board, and later Secretary McAdoo requested him to act as general counsel to the Railroad Administration, in which capacity he served for some time.

* * *

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

THE nomination of Rear Admiral William S. Benson to be a member of the Shipping Board to succeed John Barton Payne, who had become Secretary of the Interior, was confirmed by the Senate on March 13.

The appointment of William Martin Williams of Alabama to succeed Daniel C. Roper as Commissioner of Internal Revenue was announced on March 15. Mr. Williams had occupied the post of Solicitor for the Department of Agriculture, and was recommended for his new office by Secretary of the Treasury Houston. Mr. Roper's resignation was to become effective April 1.

Colonel W. B. Greeley, it was announced at this time, had been appointed as Chief Forester to succeed Henry S. Graves. Colonel Greeley, who is a graduate of the University of California and the Yale Forest School, had received the French Legion of Honor and the British Distinguished Service Order for his work as Chief of the Forestry Section of the American Army when he had been in charge of 21,000 specially trained troops. His work in the Forestry Service of the United States had ranged through all technical grades. His new appointment was a promotion from the post of Assistant Forester.

DISABILITY TEST FOR PRESIDENT

TWO resolutions were introduced in Congress on Feb. 18 proposing that the Supreme Court be empowered to determine when a President of the United States is incapacitated for performing the duties of his office. Another bill was presented the following day by Representative Madden of Illinois, which proposed that the Cabinet be authorized to define a President's disability. Mr. Madden expressed his fears of the precedent established by President Wilson in removing Mr. Lansing from office on the ground of his having called the Cabinet together to discuss national matters during the President's illness, and declared that in the future no Cabinet would ever dare to meet in a similar contingency. His bill provided that, on the Cabinet's decision, after investigation of the President's incapacity, the Vice President should immediately assume his functions.

* * *

THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR

THE appointment of Sir Auckland Geddes, formerly President of McGill University, Montreal, as British Ambassador to the United States, was officially announced in London on March 1. His coming to America to enter on his official duties was scheduled to occur within a month. The personality of the new Ambassador is an interesting one; over 6 feet 2½ inches in height and very broad-shouldered, he is noted as an athlete both in body and mind. Keenly interested in business development, he is said to have been in large part responsible for the recent development of British trade policy; though alive to the reality of business rivalries, he declares there can be no possibility of friction between the United States and Great Britain on trade questions if both nations show good-will.

Though of Scotch descent, he has lived so long in Canada and the United States that he cannot be distinguished from a native. To meet the expenses of his new office Sir Auckland Geddes will receive a net allowance of \$100,000 yearly.

MAJOR SCHROEDER'S AIR RECORD

MAJOR R. W. SCHROEDER of the United States Army Aviation Corps set a new world record for altitude reached in an airplane, when on Feb. 27, flying at Dayton, Ohio, he climbed to a point 36,020 feet above the earth. At this altitude of more than six miles he lost consciousness, as his supply of oxygen had become exhausted, and fell, as indicated by the instruments on his machine, more than five miles in two minutes. When within 2,000 feet of the earth he recovered consciousness sufficiently to right his machine, and made a safe landing at McCook Field. The attendants there found him sitting in his machine, apparently lifeless. He was blinded, his limbs paralyzed with cold, despite his electrically heated suit; he was also suffering from the effects of lack of oxygen. In this condition he was removed to a local hospital, and on the following day was resting comfortably, with ice packs on his eyes, which were still blinded as the result of his experience. Later he told the following facts:

The temperature at the peak of the climb was 67 degrees below, Fahrenheit. The centre section of my machine was coated an inch thick with ice. The exhaust from the motor sprayed fumes of carbon monoxide over me, and I was breathing this continually along with the oxygen. I had set out with three hours' supply of oxygen, and four hours' fuel supply. I was getting along rapidly. I knew by reading my instruments that I had broken the record; that I was flying higher than any man had ever flown before. I had an hour and one-half supply of fuel left and was quite elated. I was wondering just how far I could climb in that time when I found my reserve tank of oxygen emptied.

I had discarded the original tank some minutes before, because it did not function properly, and when I exhausted my reserve I turned back to it. It would not work. I had torn off my heavy goggles, because the motor exhaust was crystallizing on them and interfered with my vision. I turned toward the instruments—then everything went blank. I fell into a flat nose dive. As far as I can remember, part of the fall was in a straight dive. The rest was a spinning nose dive. I believe I was really 34,000 feet high when I fell against the switchboard. My motor was on at the time. I was trying to turn off the switch as I nosed the plane head down. I must have turned the

switch off, lost consciousness completely, but revived long enough to make a landing.

* * *

CONVICTION OF SENATOR NEWBERRY

TWO years in the Federal Penitentiary and a fine of \$10,000 were imposed upon United States Senator Truman H. Newberry on March 20 by a verdict in the United States District Court of Grand Rapids, Mich. Mr. Newberry had been indicted for conspiracy to violate the Federal statute, limiting Senatorial campaign expenditures, in his campaign against Henry Ford. The trial, which was by jury, was begun on Feb. 2 and ended with the conviction of the accused Senator on March 20. Sentence on sixteen others, including Senator Newberry's brother, ranged from two years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine to a fine of \$1,000. A request for a ninety-day stay of execution was granted all the defendants, and they were freed on their own recognizance until new bonds could be made. The jury's deliberations were summed up subsequently by one of the jurors as follows:

We followed the Judge's instructions and the evidence. Considering both, we had no other choice than to convict. The first question to be determined was whether a conspiracy had actually existed in the Newberry campaign of 1918. We argued and voted until finally the whole twelve of us agreed that the evidence conclusively demonstrated that a conspiracy existed as defined in the indictment.

* * *

STOCK DIVIDENDS NOT TAXABLE

THE Supreme Court decided on March 8 that the taxing of stock dividends under the income tax section of the 1916 revenue law was unconstitutional on the ground that stock dividends are not income, and cannot be taxed as such if declared by corporations out of their profits accrued since March 1, 1913. In consequence of this decision all taxes collected by the Government for 1917 and 1918 on stock dividends and paid under protest must be refunded by the Government. According to the Actuary of the Treasury, the refund for these years will reach a minimum total of \$35,000,000. This decision was bitterly attacked by Samuel Gompers, President of the

American Federation of Labor, who declared that it would throw \$100,000,000 of additional taxation on other people, and was part of an "invasion of the people's rights by the judicial tribunals of the country."

* * *

PENSION FOR AGUINALDO

GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO, leader of the Filipino insurgents against the Spaniards in 1896, was granted a yearly pension of \$6,000 by the Territorial Legislature of the Philippines on March 8. Cayetano A. Areliano, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, was granted a pension of the same amount, and Frank W. Carpenter, retiring Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, was voted a grant of \$25,000.

* * *

BRITISH MIDDLE-CLASS UNION

THE British Middle-Class Union, branches of which are springing up all over the country, has been organized by the salaried population of Great Britain to counteract the increasing demands of the labor unions and their continued strikes, tying up essential public services. The new union points out that while organized labor can count on some 10,500,000 votes, the middle class can rely upon approximately 25,000,000. It utters no threats, but declares its intention to co-operate with the lawful authorities in rendering effective help in emergencies, and to prove that "the people as a whole are greater and more powerful than even the most thoroughly organized minority."

* * *

LABOR CONDITIONS IN JAPAN

IN the "Report on Japanese Labor" prepared by Oswald White, British Vice Consul at Osaka, and published as a Parliamentary paper, there is contained much more than dry statistics. Interesting facts on industrial conditions and the physical and mental qualities of the Japanese working class are given. Labor is overplentiful; labor-saving devices, including machinery, too few. Low wages and unfavorable economic conditions react on efficiency. Overwork and

waste of labor are commonplaces. A working day of from ten to twelve hours is frequent. There is a great quantity of female and child labor. House rents are out of all proportion to income received. Many workmen use the doss-houses, and slums are growing. There are no trade unions, but factories modeled on Western lines are slowly increasing, and labor conditions in these stand out in strong contrast to the prevailing rule.

* * *

PAYING OUR WAR ACCOUNT IN SPAIN

THE Spanish Minister of Finance on Feb. 28 at Madrid signed a decree permitting the admission into Spain of 33,000,000 pesetas (about \$6,600,000 at the normal rate of exchange) to be paid by the United States in accordance with the terms of the financial agreement signed two years ago. This arrangement was concluded by Ambassador Willard on March 7, 1918, and provided for the purchase of large quantities of supplies in Spain for General Pershing's forces in France; at the same time a French credit was established in Madrid for the purchase of similar supplies. In return for export concessions the United States assured to Spain whatever cotton and oil it required, though barring all shipments of these commodities to Germany before the end of the war. Under this agreement General Pershing obtained for his army 500,000 woolen blankets, 20,000 tons of leather, 100,000 tons of chick peas, great quantities of saddles and bridles, and a large number of mules.

* * *

THE NEW FRENCH PREMIER

ALEXANDER MILLERAND, who succeeded M. Clemenceau as Premier of France on Jan. 18, has figured as a prominent lawyer in many important cases in the last twenty-five years. His action some years ago in declaring his faith in socialism startled and scandalized the Palais de Justice, but he became the first Socialist Minister under the Third Republic in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, which endured for several years. He was always emphatic in his dismissal of bourgeois fears of socialism. A solid and convincing speaker, he

never aims at rhetorical flights, but compresses his speeches to the utmost point of concision, until they can be summed up upon a card. Such is the man, sincere, efficient, thoughtful and judicial in temperament, who has been called to follow in the footsteps of Clemenceau.

Despite the preliminary outburst in the French Parliament over the selection of certain members of M. Millerand's new Cabinet, it may be said that his Government has strength. The Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor are men of first-rate ability in their respective spheres. M. Marsal, who recently went to London on a special financial mission, enjoys the confidence of bankers and economists both in France and England. M. Ricard, who is only 40, has devoted his whole life to the organization of French agriculture. M. Isaac, who proved his capacities at Lyons as President of the Chamber of Commerce, has for many years been recognized as an expert on commercial questions. The new Minister of Labor, M. Jourdain, was owner of a cotton spinning factory at Altkirch, destroyed in the war, and did invaluable service with the French Legation at Berne.

The main outlines of the policy to be followed by the new Cabinet embody a great industrial and fiscal effort, a reduction of military service dependent on the allied effort to lighten French military burden, insistence on fulfillment of the Peace Treaty, the supplementing of its weak points by defensive alliances, and its modification wherever necessary in favor of the Allies.

* * *

INJURIES TO MME. DORNBLUTH

THE German Government has filed a claim for substantial damages on behalf of Mme. Dornbluth, the shorthand typist said to have been injured by a missile when the German Peace Delegation was leaving Versailles. French investigators of this episode stated that a small stone thrown by some overzealous French patriot had struck the woman's tortoiseshell comb a glancing blow without inflicting injury. The German Government, however, has issued a medical

report covering some forty pages, which reviews the woman's physiological history from her birth to the present time, and gives the most intimate information of the manner in which she has been affected; the terrible results on her delicate feminine organism, presumably produced by the impact of the missile on her comb, are exhaustively and scientifically set forth, with the assertion that she has been rendered incapable of performing the duties of wife and mother. The report ends with a demand for a pension of 1,000 marks a month from the French Government.

* * *

FRENCH BONUSES FOR CHILDREN

AS part of a national movement toward repopulation, a number of Paris manufacturers have founded an association with the object of encouraging French working people to have larger families. This association has drawn up a table of subsidies to be paid out of a central fund to families to which new children are born, and which are not able to meet the expenses entailed. For the first child a bounty of 250 francs is paid; for the second and subsequent children 150 francs each. A bounty of 30 francs monthly, furthermore, is paid to every mother who nurses her children. For families in need, an allowance of 10 francs monthly is assigned for the first child, 20 francs for the second, and 30 francs for the third and subsequent children up to the age of 14. All payments are to be made to the mother of the children. To increase the funds of the association, made up largely of metal manufacturers, those firms whose workmen are mostly bachelors pay an additional amount into the treasury. Similar associations, according to Paris advices of March 5, have been formed in other French cities.

* * *

HOW FRANCE AIDS THE MUTILATED

AN important meeting of the National Office for Mutilated and Demobilized Soldiers was held in Paris at the Trocadéro on Feb. 1. It was presided over by President Poincaré, with whom sat M. Paul Deschanel, M. Léon Bourgeois, M. Millerand, and Marshals Foch

and Pétain. Many other officials of the Government were present. In the hall were crowded more than 4,000 mutilated or discharged soldiers, war widows and their families. Among the speakers was M. Henri Chéron, a Senator and President of the Administrative Committee of the organization which had convoked the assembly. In the course of his address he gave an official account of what France was doing for her mutilated soldiers. The main facts presented by him were as follows:

"The greatest care had been given to the process of re-education of incapacitated soldiers under the supervision of their employers. Work was being found for war widows burdened with children and household cares. By the law of March 31, 1919, allowances were paid to war invalids learning a new trade. Scholarships were granted, and important financial assistance was being given to all organizations devoted to mutilated or demobilized soldiers and to war widows. Above all, the service of 'loans of honor' had been established, according to which the classes mentioned might borrow as much as 2,000 francs to aid them to establish themselves in a new business. The rate of interest was only 1 per cent., and the whole amount could be repaid within a maximum period of ten years. Departmental committees could advance loans of 300 francs without seeking instructions. Labor co-operative societies three-fourths of whose workmen were mutilated or demobilized soldiers or war widows could obtain 12,000 francs from the State and 6,000 francs from the National Office. An allotment of 5,000,000 francs had been decided on for the construction and furnishing of houses for the classes in view. Great efforts were being made to cure tuberculosis contracted in the army and to aid the families of those afflicted with this scourge. Close relations were being maintained with all employment agencies, and it was planned to pay such agencies a subsidy pro rata to the number of applicants they placed.

From this official statement it will be seen that France, whatever other countries may be doing, is making every effort to care for the large number of

her soldiers permanently disabled, to provide for the families of her dead, and to secure her demobilized soldiers new opportunities to obtain a livelihood.

* * *

BRITISH MEMORIAL FOR THE UNITED STATES NAVY

AT a luncheon given by the English-Speaking Union in London on Feb. 27 a check for £6,000 was handed to Ambassador Davis for the erection in New York Harbor of a monument to commemorate the work of the United States Navy in the European war. The sum represented an overflow from a fund originally raised to set up a memorial at the Straits of Dover in honor of the combined British and French naval forces that kept the Germans from passing. Walter H. Long, M. P., First Lord of the British Admiralty, in presenting the check eulogized the action of the American naval authorities in placing a fleet of destroyers under British control at Queenstown soon after America entered the war; it was, he said, an act of highest loyalty, which enabled the British at once to reinforce the Dover patrol and make it efficient. Speaking of the North Sea mine barrage, he said: "That was laid by the Americans with wonderful skill, and was most important. It drove the Germans down to Dover, where the patrol caught them." Ambassador Davis said in reply that American officers asked nothing better than to be classed as worthy colleagues of the British in the long and arduous vigil which enabled 1,110,000 American soldiers to cross the Channel and return in safety, and that he rejoiced to know that there would be a permanent memorial of the co-operation of British and American sailors in achieving the common aim.

* * *

SOLDIER-ACTORS IN HARDY'S "DYNASTS"

THE performance of Thomas Hardy's monumental epic-drama of the Napoleonic era, "The Dynasts," at Oxford University in the week of Feb. 9 was an event unique in several respects. Mr. Hardy is the first living dramatist whose work has ever been produced by the Oxford University Dramatic Society. His play, though dealing with a war of

a past period, symbolized the same qualities that won the great war of the twentieth century. Among the actors were men who had fought and endured on the bloody battlefields of France and who had won a place in history beside the soldiers of Wellington and the sailors of Nelson. The author, now 80 years old, was present in person. The theatre was packed to suffocation, many great notables of Oxford and London being present; and the gigantic war panorama unrolled by Hardy's colossal conception, which had always been pronounced unactable, was witnessed with a tenseness of mood and a concentrated interest such as few current dramatic performances could produce.

* * *

RAILWAYS 100 YEARS OLD

THE old adage that great things start from small beginnings was brought out anew by the arrangement in February at Yarm, England, of a centenary celebration of the first railway in the world. This pioneer railway was built in 1821 in the North Country district, between Stockton-on-Tees and the South Durham coal fields, to the west of Darlington. The history of this epoch-making event is briefly as follows:

Since 1767 efforts had been made to promote a canal practically over this same route, at an estimated expense of a quarter of a million pounds. It proved, however, that the public was averse to investing in this enterprise, from which it saw no adequate return. The first public suggestion of a railway was made on Sept. 18, 1810, at a dinner held at the Town Hall, Stockton-on-Tees, under the auspices of the Tees Navigation Company, to celebrate the shortening of the water route to the sea by about two and a quarter mile. A resolution was moved by Leonard Raisbeck, the Recorder of Stockton, that a committee should be appointed "to inquire into the practicability and advantage of a railway or canal from Stockton, by Darlington and Winston, for the more easy and expeditious carriage of coals, lead, &c." From this resolution was born a definite project to construct such a railroad.

But the execution of the project was

long in materializing. It was not until 1818 that Mr. Overton, an eminent South Wales engineer, was asked to make a definite survey of the proposed route. The estimated cost was fixed at £124,000. After meetings of the committee of promoters were held in Darlington, Stockton and Yarm a bill was presented in Parliament in 1819 to authorize the undertaking; but owing to the opposition of local landlords, led by the Earl of Darlington, the bill was rejected by a majority vote. At the George and Dragon Hotel in the quaint old town of Yarm, on the southern bank of the Tees, the committee of promoters held new meetings, affirmed their determination to carry out their plan, drafted a new bill, and collected subscriptions for £120,900.

Owing to the death of King George III. this new bill was not presented until the opening session of Parliament in the following year, when it finally passed both houses and received the royal sanction in April, 1821, and became the first Stockton and Darlington Railway act.

There was no provision in the original act authorizing the use of steam power, as it was merely intended to use horse traction for the purpose of drawing the trucks of coal and other goods, with coaches containing passengers, along the line of route. Late in 1821, however, George Stephenson came from Killingworth, in Northumberland, and advocated the use of steam engines. The promoters were so much impressed that shortly afterward they put a new bill through Parliament authorizing the use of the steam engine and secured the services of Mr. Stephenson for laying down the line of rails. He also supplied them with their first engine, "Locomotive No. 1," which may now be seen on a pedestal in the Darlington railway station. Two more engines were afterward ordered at a cost of £500 each. So the vast system of railways that covers the whole civilized world was born, and in celebration of the event the City of Yarm is preparing to hold a great centenary banquet in 1921, to which the Prime Minister and many notables have been invited.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Countries in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

The British Empire

ENGLAND

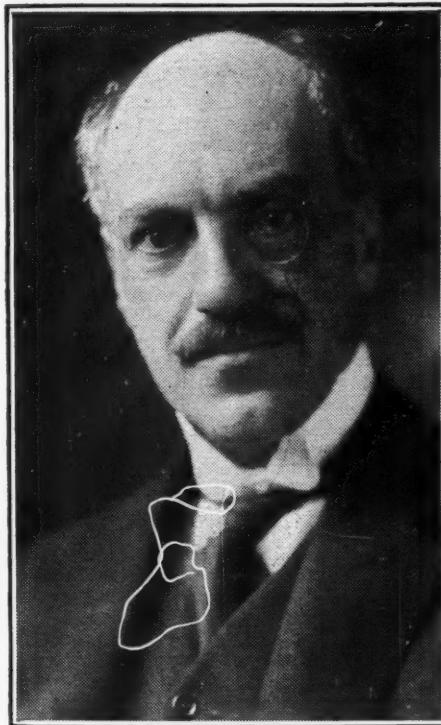
THE policy of attempting to open trade with Soviet Russia was announced in the middle of January by the British Government; a month later it announced another which met with even more antagonism—the policy of maintaining the political and religious head of Turkey at Constantinople.

Never had there been more bitter denunciation against a Government by the British press—religious, political, economic and sentimental—than those launched against the Lloyd George Government for its utter disregard of all British and Christian traditions. To the plea of expediency advanced by the Government, that with millions of Moslems under British rule, it should do nothing that would tend to alienate them from the empire, it was answered that the attitude of the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in attempting to represent Indian Moslem opinion in this respect, was open to suspicion, as the Indian Moslem cared very little about the Turkish Sultan and Caliph, but that the Government had been forced through pressure from France and fear lest a revived Russia might some day unite with the Turks and claim Constantinople.

An event of far-reaching political significance was the return of former Premier Herbert H. Asquith to the House of Commons as a result of the Paisley by-election, which was announced as follows on Feb. 25: Mr. Asquith, who was the Liberal nominee, polled 14,736 votes, against 11,902 for J. M. Biggar, the Labor candidate, and 3,795 for J. A. D. MacKean, Coalition-Unionist.

Paisley was the eighth seat lost by the Coalition during the fourteen months

which have passed since the general election, the others being:



EDWIN S. MONTAGU
Secretary of State for India
(© Harris & Ewing)

WON BY INDEPENDENT LIBERALS

1919

March 14—West Leyton (A. E. Newbould).
April 11—Central Hull (Commander J. M. Kenworthy).
April 30—Central Aberdeen (Major Mackenzie Wood).

WON BY THE LABOR PARTY

1919

July 29—Bothwell (J. Robertson).
Sept. 12—Widnes (A. Henderson).
1920
Jan. 3—Spen Valley (T. Myers).

WON BY AN INDEPENDENT
1920

Feb. 20—The Wrekin (C. Palmer).

The return of Mr. Asquith to active political life, although on one hand it defeated a Coalition Unionist, and on the other prevented the probable seating of a Laborite candidate, is regarded, even by certain Coalition officials, as a healthful sign of British politics, as it means a more rational and dignified leadership for the Opposition.

On Feb. 24 the Secretary of War, Winston Churchill, announced the new army policy along the following lines:

On the 31st of March there will be no conscription.

We alone of the European Nations, though having by far the greatest extent of territory to control, will have returned to the voluntary system.

Our normal army will be weaker than the Belgian Army.

The only great nation whom we have succeeded in persuading to abolish conscription is Germany.

It is idle to pretend that before the war the army was proportionate to the risks we ran or to the part in European policy that we played.

New and serious responsibilities—temporary and permanent—have been placed on us in consequence of the war, and the whole of the Eastern world, in which we are more than any other power interested, is in a state of extreme disquiet.

No further relief from the burdens which we have to bear can be looked for until real peace is made with Turkey.

We lost ground steadily during the whole of last year, and I trust that, having dispersed our armies, we will not now take steps which would drive the Turkish people to despair, or undertake any new obligations which our resources are not equal to discharge.

It is impossible to estimate the number of men and the money required to discharge our responsibilities in the Middle East, but the Government has decided to take an optimistic view, and has made provision in the estimates which involve during the coming financial year a reduction in the garrisons in the Middle East of about half.

I favor a steady increase of the air force at the expense of the army and navy, and believe that will be the tendency year by year.

The foregoing policy was severely criticised by the military experts of nearly all the London papers as being a too drastic reduction of the empire's military establishment at a time when conditions in Germany and Turkey were still

unsettled and when the French Government was adopting an altogether different policy.

Although the National Conference of Coal Miners voted on March 10 for a general strike and "direct action" in order to enforce their demand for the nationalization of the mines—and this by a majority of 178,000 votes—on the following day the Trade Union Congress voted against such action by a majority of 2,820,000, but advocated legal political action by a majority of 2,717,000. The London and provincial press severely condemned the action of the various unions barring from employment war cripples, especially after the Government and private vocational organizations had spent millions in making them useful.

IRELAND

On Feb. 25 the new Home Rule bill, already outlined by the Prime Minister, (See *CURRENT HISTORY* for February), was formally introduced in the House of Commons. While armed and more or less bloody conflict continued in Ireland between the Dublin Castle authorities and the Sinn Fein, the chief political events which followed the introduction of the bill were as follows: The Government promised Ireland even more freedom of action in case the measure were accepted; the Ulster factions, although still opposed to any steps which might lead to separation from the empire, promised support to the bill; while great surprise in both Governmental and Opposition circles was expressed when Mr. Asquith on March 11 raised the following objection to the bill which was about to pass to its second reading in the House:

That this House declines to proceed with a measure which is unacceptable to any section of the Irish Nation, which denies national unity by setting up the Legislatures and executives with co-ordinate powers, and which would indefinitely postpone the establishment of a united parliament for Ireland.

This statement was supposed to voice the Liberal objection to the bill, and was regarded as a mere political move to weaken the Coalition. It was hailed with delight by the South of Ireland press.

AUSTRALIA

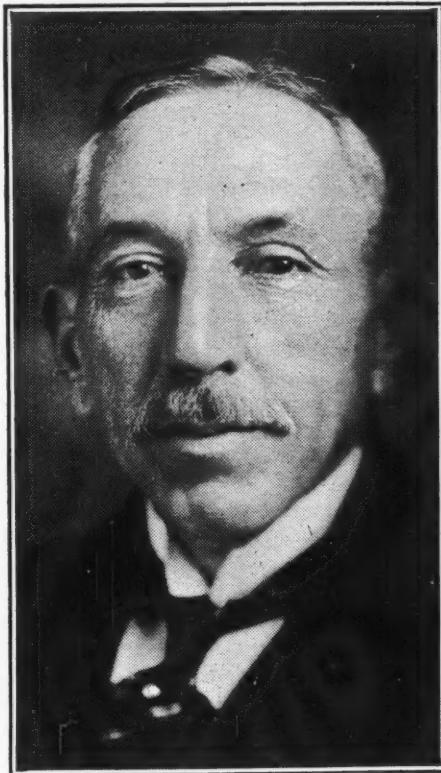
Australia is rejoicing in a peace exhibition at Adelaide, which will remain open till May 22, but there has been internal war over a strike of marine engineers lasting for ten weeks, which seriously affected interstate trade. Two hundred and fifty thousand tons of shipping were idle and 25,000 workers were idle on the land. On the other hand, the

ers at an interstate conference at Melbourne in February unanimously supported a proposal to form a compulsory wheat pool controlled by representatives of the producers, but Premier Hughes refused to sanction it. The State of Victoria on its own account then bought 9,000,000 bushels of Victorian wheat at 7s. 8d. to meet the State's requirements. In Western Australia the Government is running State butter factories.

England is now selling at a great profit her surplus stock of wool bought during the war from Australia. The understanding at the time of the purchase was that profits from resale, if any, should be divided equally between the home Government and Australia. The Australians are now urging immediate division, and the wool growers are demanding that they be paid at a rate corresponding to the huge profits received in England. There was also a housing crisis in the cities, the building trade employees deciding to restrict work to forty hours a week. State-controlled hotels in Western Australia, showed a large excess of receipts.

To overawe and cripple the strikers in all branches the Federal Government forbade the banks "or any one else" to give money or goods to the strikers or to do anything to prolong the strikes. This drastic regulation proved abortive. It was taken up politically by the Nationalists, who were preparing concerted action to resist its enforcement on the ground that it is a blow at the liberty of the citizen. Premier Holman of New Zealand, which was also torn by strikes, condemned the regulation as autocratic, saying Australia would be no fit place for British citizens to live in if such a misuse of power should pass without condemnation.

The new Commonwealth Parliament met on Feb. 26. The Nationalists, under Mr. Hughes, have 39 seats in the lower house, the Labor Party 26, and the "Country Party" (anti-labor) 10. The Laborites are furious at the collapse of the strike, which they attribute to Premier Hughes's use of war powers to prohibit the banks from giving money to the men. Industrial and immigration ques-



WILLIAM M. HUGHES
Australian Premier
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shipping ring was refusing accommodation to firms who patronized the Commonwealth Government steamers, and was clamoring for the sale of the latter to private owners. This Premier Hughes refused on the ground that the shipping ring would advance freights if the Commonwealth fleet were sold. The strike was finally settled on Feb. 23.

The cost of living was rapidly rising in the chief Australian cities. The farm-

tions are the principal topics before the Parliament.

New Zealand, in spite of its labor troubles, is inviting immigrants, offering bonuses in money, besides the price of their passage, to farm laborers and their wives, domestic servants and other workers, and guarantees employment to former soldiers who are now assisted by Great Britain.

CANADA

Canadians, with their Parliament in session, are discussing a number of matters economic and political that are of international interest. These include Admiral Viscount Jellicoe's report on a proposed naval policy for the country, made at the request of the Government; the report of Dr. J. G. Rutherford on race tracks and race track betting in the country; the introduction of a new Federal franchise bill giving the suffrage to all qualified persons irrespective of sex at the age of 21 years and over, and the request of prohibition organizations for legislation that will make it possible for any province to be "bone dry."

Admiral Jellicoe's report presents four building programs from which Canada might make a choice for the beginning of a navy. These are based on annual outlays of \$5,000,000, \$10,000,000, \$17,500,000, and \$25,000,000 respectively. They are so arranged that the country could start with the smaller and build up to the larger plan if desired. The fullest possible amount of local control is outlined with training and ships so correlated to those of the British Navy or the whole naval force of the empire that the Canadian force could at once join with it in time of war and not be a misfit. At first there would necessarily be a preponderance of British officers in the higher commands. Steps toward the training of Canadians to fit them for these positions are outlined, and it is also suggested that the Canadian ships should join the British fleet every year for the annual manoeuvres.

The \$10,000,000 program seems to be favored by Jellicoe as the one that Canada should begin with. It would enable her to protect her own coasts or to do a good deal toward that. This plan calls

for three light cruisers, one flotilla leader, eight submarines, one submarine parent ship, eight "P" boats for patrol, and four trawler mine sweepers. The Government has not committed itself to any plan at the time of writing. Admiral Jellicoe intimates that the initial outlay on ships would be lightened by the gift of several vessels which the British Admiralty could spare, since it has greatly reduced its fleet strength compared with that of the war period.

A projected Canadian navy has been the subject of bitter controversies at various intervals in the past twenty years, and any plan now presented will be warmly debated in Parliament and throughout the Dominion. The Toronto Star holds that any policy committing the country to heavy expenditures and a given course of action for years to come should be submitted to the people in a general election.

With the ratification of peace early in the year the Canadian order in council which prohibited betting on race tracks, and which had been in force since 1918, automatically ceased. As a result of the order, horse racing had been suspended. Racing interests are now vigorously at work and are looking forward to a successful season. They have awaited the report on the inquiry by Dr. Rutherford with some eagerness, anticipating that the Government would use it as a basis for legislation. He makes no recommendations, but emphasizes certain facts brought out as the result of his investigation from coast to coast. Under present conditions it is possible, he says, to hold 238 days of racing in Canada. Long-continued meets with betting as a public adjunct "are likely in the communities in which they are held to exert a bad influence on young and inexperienced men and others lacking in self-control and moral stamina." He dwells upon multiplication of tracks in and around the larger cities and trafficking in race track charters made possible through lack of provision for adequate provincial or Federal control.

The introduction by the Government of a new franchise bill is in keeping with a promise in the speech from the

throne. It is best described in the words of its sponsor, the Hon. Hugh Guthrie, Solicitor General: "The franchise, according to the terms of the bill, has been established upon very broad principles. The only requirements will be those of British citizenship, residence in Canada for one year and in the particular constituency for two months, and the attainment of the age of 21 years; and these requirements will apply in the case of male and female voters alike." British citizenship is to be construed as by birth or naturalization.

EGYPT AND SOMALILAND

In Egypt little progress has been made by the Milner Mission in its attempt to reach a peaceful understanding with the Nationalist leaders, who demand the abolition of the protectorate and absolute separation from the British Empire. Rushdi Pasha, formerly Prime Minister, plainly told the mission that no solution was possible without the participation of the Egyptian Nationalist delegation, headed by Zaglul Pasha. The latter remained in Paris ready to present a plea to the League of Nations while the mission began its inquiries in Alexandria and Cairo, being generally boycotted.

The unprecedented event of a woman, said to be an American, addressing the Moslems in the sacred precincts of the Mosque of El Azhar helped to swell the sentiment for independence, while a Cairo lawyer, Abu Shadi, caused trouble in the Delta by his inflammatory speeches at Tantah. A British Corporal was killed and two soldiers wounded in the ensuing riots. Attempts at assassination continue. Soon after the conviction of the Coptic student who threw a bomb at Wahba Pasha, formerly Prime Minister, on Jan. 28, another youth, who escaped, hurled a similar missile at Sirri Pasha, Minister of Public Works, and on Feb. 22 a bomb was thrown at Shafik Pasha, Minister of Agriculture. In the latter case two arrests were made. General Allenby returned to Cairo on Feb. 16 from a tour of the Sudan Provinces, and was met with Nationalist demonstrations at the principal railway stations from Assouan to Cairo.

The Milner Mission, it should be remembered, is merely a Committee of Inquiry. Real negotiations with the Egyptians are likely to be concluded in London. One reform practically determined upon is the abolition of the capitulations of consular courts by which foreign Consuls try cases that may arise between their nationals and natives. These, depending upon treaties, can only be abolished with the consent of the Governments concerned, which, however, it is believed will be easily obtained. This is the precedent followed when France proclaimed a protectorate over Tunis.

Of greater importance to the prosperity of Egypt is the vast Anglo-Egyptian irrigation project to regulate the waters of the Nile. Very complimentary to the United States was the selection of an American to be the third member of the Committee of Inquiry which is to draw up plans for the scheme, in order to avail itself of the wide knowledge in this country on questions of irrigation and water supply. It is also proposed to extend the Egyptian Railway from Suakim to Tokar, fifty miles further south. In this connection the death of Colonel M. E. Sowerby, Under Secretary of Communications, who died in Cairo on Jan. 28, is a great loss to the country. It was he who completed and administered the railway to Palestine during General Allenby's advance. Another upbuilder of Africa, Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, died on Feb. 4 in Tangier. He was instructor to the Moorish Army under the late Sultan and was instrumental in clearing Morocco of bandits, being captured by Raisuli on one of his expeditions and held for seven months, the British Government paying \$100,000 to obtain his release.

There appears to be the same profiteering by landlords in Cairo as there is in London, New York and other large cities. To meet the situation a law has been passed in Egypt forbidding house rents to exceed by 50 per cent. the amount paid on Aug. 1, 1914.

A very important event for the safety of Somaliland and of all East Africa was the defeat in February of Mohammed Abdullah, the "Mad Mullah" who for

nearly twenty years has been ravaging the interior, preventing settlement and arousing the native rites against foreigners. Millions have been expended in the attempt to curb his activities. An expedition was sent against him in 1901, another in 1902 and a third in 1903, in which the Abyssinian Army co-operated; 200 Sikhs were outnumbered and beaten. In 1904 the Mad Mullah was severely defeated and made peace in 1905. Three years later he began his attacks again and has continued his ravages sporadically ever since. Now his forces have been scattered and he, himself, is a refugee in Italian Somaliland after a campaign of three weeks.

Concentrating at Berbera, on the coast, a force of 180 men of the British Air Force started out in a fleet of bombing airplanes on Jan. 20, attacked the Mad Mullah's headquarters at Medishi, 200 miles east of Berbera, the next day, and, flying low, inflicted heavy casualties on the fleeing dervishes. The Mad Mullah himself had a narrow escape, his uncle being killed by his side and his own clothes being singed. For three days attacks continued until the dervish force was scattered among the hills. Then a land force joined in the pursuit, occupying Jidballi Fort on Jan. 28. The Mad Mullah was reported making for Tale, which was bombed on Feb. 1 and occupied by the land force on Feb. 11. The Mad Mullah, with only seventy horsemen, fled toward the frontier of Italian Somaliland. The Italians from their base at Obbia on the Indian Ocean, sent a force toward Gagab, in Abyssinia, to head him off.

SOUTH AFRICA

Grave political and economic troubles have recently arisen in the Union of South Africa, where there have been serious mine strikes and an agitation to separate the Union from the British Empire. The irreconcilable Boer element chose a delegation headed by General Hertzog and planned a journey to Paris to demand independence from the Peace Conference, but the seamen and firemen of the steamer on which they were to sail refused to put to sea with

the Nationalists aboard. Then Admiral Fitzherbert offered to give passage to General Hertzog's delegation aboard the British warship Minerva. The Nationalists, covered with ridicule, declined, but continued their agitation for the re-establishment of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. They put up candidates in 97 of the 134 constituencies of the South African Parliament, but failed to carry a majority of the seats in the elections, which took place on March 10.

Jan Christian Smuts, the Premier, won an overwhelming victory in Pretoria West, receiving 1,720 votes against 473 Nationalist and 303 Labor votes. The Labor Party, however, gained many seats in the House of Assembly, and it was evident that there would be some difficulty in forming the new Ministry.

General Smuts made a tour of the country in which he blamed the Nationalists for causing the mine strikes among the natives, involving 30,000 blacks in the Witwatersrand gold fields alone. The color line is drawn tightly by the trade unions and white workers. The latter are generally foremen and overseers, the proportion in the mines being one white to every hundred blacks. The blacks are picketing the mines and doing things which General Smuts thought them incapable of doing. Several hundred of them attacked white miners on Feb. 25 near Johannesburg and a pitched battle ensued, four natives being killed, thirty-five injured and six wounded. A dispatch from Johannesburg dated March 3 announced that the strike had been settled.

INDIA

Desultory fighting continued on the northwest frontier of India, and official opinion gradually swerved from blaming Soviet agents, as cause of the revolt of the Afghan tribes, to the more rational belief in the duplicity of agents of the Turkish Nationals.

The opposition to Delhi as the capital of British India was brought to a head by a resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi proposing that the Government of India should be situated in one place throughout the year. The resolution was rejected.

States of the Balkan Peninsula

ALBANIA

The political status of Albania continued to be anomalous. Its independence of Turkey was proclaimed at Valona, Nov. 28, 1912. This was confirmed by the London Ambassadorial Conference a month later with the proviso that a European Prince should reign there. He came in the person of the German Kaiser's kinsman, Prince William of Wied, and departed with the war. The country has now a native Provisional Government which the United States has not recognized, and an Italian mandate which it has recognized. The Anglo-Franco-American Adriatic memorandum of Dec. 9, 1919, cut off Epirus, or the southern part, and gave it to Greece; the Anglo-Franco-Italian proposals of a month later would have given the northern part as far south as the Drin to Serbia, had President Wilson permitted.

Meanwhile, Constantine A. Chekrezi, a graduate of Harvard, was appointed on Feb. 19 the Albanian representative at Washington. The State Department was so informed by Louis Bumchi, Bishop of Alessio, head of the Albanian delegation at Paris, but the Harvard man cannot, it is said, be received by the State Department until his *exequatur* shall have the *visé* of Italy.

GREECE

The decision of the Supreme Council in regard to Turkey had some immediate results in the Balkans. M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, offered the Council 100,000 troops to maintain order on the Cilician-Syrian frontier on account of the opposition with which the French troops were meeting at the outposts north of Aleppo from the Turkish Nationals, Syrian volunteers and Arab bands. There was general satisfaction that the Council had decided to place Eastern Thrace under Greek authority. The Bulgarian Government, however, issued a remonstrance, which, though dated Sofia, Feb. 20, had been drafted in ignorance of the ultimate disposition made of Eastern Thrace by

the Supreme Council five days before. It read:

Political circles and public opinion in Bulgaria are closely following the course of the deliberations in London. The reports received here regarding the decisions arrived at, or to be arrived at, have aroused considerable excitement by reason of the close connection between the fate of the Ottoman Empire and that of the former Bulgarian littoral in the Aegean Sea.

This excitement is increased by the news that M. Venizelos was admitted to plead before the Supreme Council for the allocation of Thrace to Greece, and the possibility of such an allocation has everywhere called forth loud protests.

In view of this eventuality, the Prime Minister, M. Stambolijsky, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Madjaroff, called upon representatives of the Entente the day before yesterday (Feb. 18) and declared to them that the Bulgarian people, who had resigned themselves to giving up Western Thrace on the assurance that it would enjoy international administration, would never tolerate the presence of Greece at the outlet of its natural ways between the Black Sea and the Aegean, and that if, contrary to all expectation, the conference in London were to commit this act of injustice, the Government would no longer be responsible for the consequences of the decision.

In connection with this M. Stambolijsky declares that he would never have signed the Peace Treaty had he known that Thrace, which the Allies were detaching from Bulgaria, would be handed over to the Greeks.

M. Venizelos made several notable speeches in the Athens Chamber in the middle of February in exposition of the policy of the Liberal Party. He dealt with the Agrarian and Labor bills, then under discussion, and with the Royalist plot for the restoration of King Constantine. In anticipation of the successful passage of the Agrarian bill, the Government had already partly carried out the expropriations on a large scale of big landed estates and their resale to small farmers. The Labor bill provided for the regulation of strikes and the exclusion from labor unions of all persons not genuine native workingmen. Under the bill strikes are unlawful unless preceded by due notice and recourse to Gov-

ernment arbitration and unless voted by a real majority of each labor union. The attempt to limit the character of membership in the unions was due to the fact that lawyers, politicians and foreign agitators had used the unions for political and anarchical ends.

M. Venizelos declared that he had been waited upon by labor delegates from Athens and Piraeus demanding the withdrawal of the bill. In declining to withdraw it, he had said that the Government was determined to protect not only society but labor itself from Bolshevism, and he reminded the delegates that the labor element of Greece formed a very small minority, and the Government, while giving every protection to labor's legitimate rights, would not allow any minority to force its pleasure upon the majority. And he said these things at the risk of having the Labor Party withdraw its support from the Liberal Government.

As to the Royalist plot, he admitted that a number of reactionaries who had been deported were now conspiring for the return of King Constantine. M. Gounaris himself, he added, now a fugitive in Italy, was aiming at the restoration of Constantine. There was really no fear of these reactionaries, but he thought that until they ceased to conspire they had better stay out of Greece and their correspondence home be carefully censored.

RUMANIA

While the new Prime Minister, M. Vaïda-Voéved, was being officially and unofficially entertained in London, by-elections for the Rumanian Senate took place at home, which were said by the neutral press of Bucharest to cast distrust upon his Ministry, formed Dec. 5, and the Parliament elected the month before, it being charged that the newly acquired territories had more than their share of portfolios and not a proportional number of seats.

The by-elections for the Senate took place on Feb. 7 and 8, and resulted in the election of all the candidates representing the People's League, at the head of which is General Averesco. The General himself was elected not only in the

Old Kingdom, but also in Bessarabia and in Transylvania. At the November elections, it will be recalled, the league, in agreement with the Democratic Party, led by M. Také Jonescu and the Socialist Party, abstained from voting, as they regarded the Government of the General as unconstitutional.

M. Také Jonescu's party, considering that the Parliament elected at that time could not represent the country, owing to the abstention of 56 per cent. of the electorate, persisted in its policy and refused to have anything to do with the by-elections in the Old Kingdom. M. Jonescu, however, accepted the offer of the leaders of parties in Transylvania to put him up for a department of that liberated province as a testimony to his patriotic attitude during the war.

On March 15 information received in Rumanian quarters in New York was to the effect that the Cabinet which had been formed by Alexander Vaïda-Voéved on Dec. 9, and which, during his absence in London, was conducted by Acting Premier Kop, had resigned and that King Ferdinand had asked the Minister of the Interior, General Fofoză Averescu, to form a new Government.

Rumania was raising an internal loan of 2,000,000,000 lei (about \$400,000,000), of which Bucharest banks had subscribed 600,000,000 lei and provincial banks very nearly the balance. A statement was published in Bucharest to the effect that American interests had offered a loan of \$4,000,000 in exchange for the Rumanian petroleum monopoly over a period of sixty years. This was denied by the Ministry of the Treasury in an interview, as follows:

A loan from foreign sources, however, will be necessary. We have received many proposals. All are carefully examined. Nearly all of them are accompanied by offers to sell goods or have stipulations for some monopoly. What we require is a renewal of our industrial plant to reconstruct our railways and to meet the wants of our army, which has been mobilized since 1916. First it was the Hungarians and now it is the Bolsheviks who force us to keep an army of twenty divisions on the frontiers.

What will our situation be if Poland, followed by the Entente powers under the impulse from England and Italy, en-

ters into diplomatic pourparlers with the Moscow Government, as present indications seem to suggest they will do? Rumania more than any other country has need that the Entente powers should make up their minds as to what common attitude they intend to take up in regard to the Bolsheviks.

SERBIA

For several weeks there had been the alternative before the Prince Regent, who most of the time, however, was sojourning in Paris or on the Riviera, of a concentration Cabinet with a definite mandate for the dissolution of Parliament, or the formation of a Government from the ranks of the Opposition. By the middle of February the former plan had been rejected; then it became doubtful whether there was the necessary majority for the latter. Nevertheless, after M. Vesnitch had tried in vain to form a Coalition Cabinet, M. Protitch managed to form one from the Opposition on Feb. 19. As ultimately revised it was composed of ten Serbs, four Croats, three Slovenes and one Bosnian, as follows:

Minister President and Minister for the Constituent Assembly, M. Protitch.
 Vice President and Minister of Communications, M. Koroschez.
 Commerce, M. Ribaratz.
 Finance, M. Jankowitch.
 Woods and Mines, M. Kovatchevish.
 Agrarian Reform, M. Krnitsch.
 Food, M. Stanischitch.
 Interior, M. Trifkowitch.
 Foreign Affairs, M. Trumbich or M. Spalajkowitch.
 Social Policies, Dr. Schurmin.
 Posts, M. Drinkovitsch.
 Education, M. Trifunovitch.
 Religion, M. Jankowitch.
 Public Works, M. Jovanovitch.
 Justice, M. Nintchich.
 Agriculture, M. Roskar.
 Health, M. Miletich.

Owing to the absence of M. Trumbich with the Jugoslav delegation in Paris, M. Spalajkowitch took ad interim the foreign portfolio, and, in a statement on behalf of the new Administration, desired two points to be emphasized abroad: First, that the Government intended to work in a proper constitutional manner with Parliament and had every hope of being able to do so, and, second, that a conciliatory reply would be ready on the Adriatic question whenever the Supreme Council chose to ask for it.

According to the *Politika* of Belgrade the names of both M. Hanzek and Dr. Hrastnitz, who had at first been included in the Cabinet, were nominees of the Croatian National Club, which had also demanded the military command at Zagreb (Agram) for officers who were reputedly Austrophile. M. Protitch discovered that while M. Hanzek had identified himself with Republican propaganda, Dr. Hrastnitz was undesirable as a Cabinet Minister for a more serious reason, which as related in the *Politika* is as follows:

Two months ago a formal request was lodged with our Minister for Foreign Affairs that proceedings should be taken against Dr. Ali Beg Hrastnitz, lawyer of Serajevo, accused of crimes committed at Kragujevatch as Austrian Reserve officer and of participating as a member of the court-martial in the trial of peasants who, although innocent, were condemned to death and executed.

The International Committee of Investigation has ascertained that during the proceedings he expressed his hatred of Serbia with more heat and brutality than any of the other Judges.

The new Government was said to have found the archives of the Ministries in a deplorable condition, as many officials of the former Government, on being appointed, had received immediate leaves of absence. The late Finance Minister was found to have sold out every particle of foreign currency in order to embarrass his successor. Such currency had been employed to stabilize exchange. Consequently the American dollar, which sold on Feb. 16 for 21.20 dinars, brought 24.50 a fortnight later. The late Government had also regulated the ratio between the dinar and the crown as about one to three. Before the war each was worth about 20 cents, and now, while the dinar is used in Serbia the crown continues to be passed in former Austrian parts of Jugoslavia.

After the decree in regard to the ratio the merchants in the non-Serbian part of Jugoslavia attempted to restore the equilibrium by advancing their prices three times, but the dinar still kept that much ahead. One of the first petitions which M. Protitch received on taking office was one from the Croats which demanded that the crown should be retired,

but on a basis of equality with the dinar.

These crowns are, of course, the legacy left Jugoslavia by the late Dual Monarchy—part of the 50,000,000,000 banknotes which kept the presses of Vienna and Budapest working at full pressure during the war, and to which Bela Kun added some 15,000,000,000. Soon after the armistice the dinar was restored in Serbia by the simple process of declining to take crowns, but elsewhere in Jugoslavia there was no other currency save the crown, and when the people there were forced to buy dinars the price of

the dinar in crowns went up. Even at the ratio of one to three nobody is said to care to part with dinars for crowns.

It was announced from Washington on Feb. 2 that Dr. Slavko J. Grouitch, Minister of the Jugoslav Government, had been recalled, and would be succeeded by Jovan M. Jovanovitch, who has been Minister to Great Britain for the past three years. Dr. Grouitch had been named Grand Marshal of the King's Palace, and it was stated semi-officially that he would receive the charge of Minister to Greece.

Other States of Continental Europe

AUSTRIA

Dr. Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, accompanied by a number of secretaries, visited Prague, the Czechoslovak capital, in February, thus taking what was regarded as the first step toward the establishment of normal economic and other relations between these two countries. The visit had special reference to the lack of coal in Austria. By an agreement with the Czechoslovak Government Austria was to have been supplied with a certain amount of coal, but the quantity delivered had been entirely insufficient to keep the Austrian factories, railways, gas and electric plants running, besides leaving practically no coal for domestic purposes. In explanation of the failure to keep the agreement the Czechs declared that their country also was suffering from a coal shortage, owing to Radical Socialist agitation, whereby the output of the Bohemian and Moravian mines had been reduced to about 40 per cent.

The suffering and destitution from lack of food and work were reported as intensified, with but slight prospect of relief in the immediate future.

In the National Assembly all parties were unanimous in declaring that the proposals of the Hungarian Government for a plebiscite in West Hungary before its evacuation by Hungarian troops were unacceptable. Several Deputies asserted that the terrorism prevailing in West

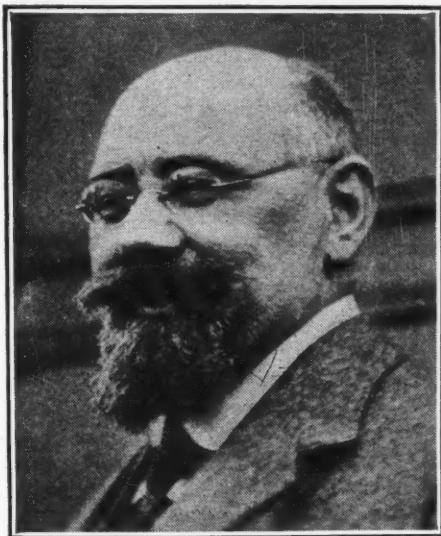
Hungary made such a plebiscite impossible.

An open letter to Trotzky from Friedrich Adler, Austrian Socialist leader, was published in *Der Kampf*. It threw an interesting sidelight on the Austrian revolution. At the outbreak of that revolution Adler was in prison for shooting Premier Sturghk in 1916, and was elected an "honorary member of the Pan Russian Congress of Soviet Delegates." At the same time Trotzky, elated at the prospect of a "world revolution," immediately gave orders that money and agitators be sent to Austria to promote Bolshevism. Against this movement Adler, as leader of the Austrian Labor Party, resolutely set his face, and by his actions saved Austria from the misfortunes of the Communist régime in Hungary. In his open letter to Trotzky covering his rejection of Bolshevik overtures Adler said:

I am not in a position to judge how clearly you can discern the movement of the times and its influence on events in Russia, but as regards Germany and Austria you have been constantly falling from one illusion to another. * * * You did not send funds to support an already existing Government, but your money was intended to serve as a bait for the creation of an entirely new party, undesirable from the point of view of the Austrian proletariat. Unfortunately, together with your gold, you did not manage to export a little political common sense.

Austria's financial condition was described on March 11 as a "giddy whirl of inflated currency." An example of

this skyward inflation was provided by the demand of organizations representing the civil and State employes for 24,000 kronen as the salary for the lowest grade official. In normal times that



Dr. KARL RENNER
Austrian Premier

would amount to \$4,800, but now \$140 would purchase that amount of Austrian paper money. While the Government was willing to grant the lowest grade official a salary and allowances amounting to 18,000 kronen, it was confronted with the difficulty of involving the State in an additional expenditure of 1,000,000,000 kronen at a time when the officially estimated deficit in the last budget amounted to 9,000,000,000 kronen.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Undisturbed by fears of Bolshevism or the vociferous agitation of the German element in Bohemia, the Government of President Masaryk proceeded steadily with its work of reconstruction during the first three months of the current year. To cope with the first danger, and to be prepared for any crisis in Central European affairs, military estimates were submitted to the National Assembly late in January for an army in all its branches, including over 1,000 airplanes and two warships, and totaling

a personnel of 5,169 officers and 103,384 men.

The discontent of the German Bohemians was much allayed by the new policy inaugurated by Premier Tusar in contrast with that of his predecessor, Dr. Kramarsz, which had alienated the Czechs and the Germans alike. A German delegation which came to Prague in December, 1919, to protest against suppression of German schools, refusal of home rule, and disfranchisement of the minority nationalities, including Germans, Magyars, Poles and Ruthenians representing 6,000,000 out of a total population of 13,000,000, was welcomed by the new Premier, and sent away with the assurance that neither the Germans nor any of the other minority elements would be further discriminated against, and that the German districts would be granted representation in the new election.

In the elections for the Diet, held at the end of January, 300 Deputies were elected, of whom 154 were Czechs, 81 Germans, 42 Slovaks, 14 Magyars, 6 Poles and 3 Ruthenians, all chosen on the principle of proportionate representation. Further danger of German or other national "irredentism" within the confines of the new republic was thus eliminated. Fears of international conflict between Czechoslovakia and Austria over the respective positions of the Germans of Bohemia and the Czechs of Vienna were harmoniously disposed of by the agreements reached by Dr. Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, and Premier Tusar, acting with Mr. Masaryk, in conversations held in Prague toward the end of January.

The movement of ecclesiastical reform, which began Dec. 25 with the announcement that mass would be celebrated in the Czech language, went on uninterrupted, despite the bull of excommunication issued by the Papal See on Jan. 15, which condemned and reproved the project of establishing a new Czech National Church, especially the proposal that the Czech priests should be released from the obligation of celibacy. This ecclesiastical law, said the Papal announcement, was sacred and inviolate and could be neither modified nor abolished. A meet-

ing was held in Prague-Smichow in the week of Feb. 13 to decide whether the Czech clergy should vote for absolute schism or for an advance of Czech nationalism by internal church reforms but adhering to Rome. Out of 211 qualified voters 140 favored separation. The leaders of the movement were nearly all parish priests who had left the Church to fill Government posts of responsibility. Post Office Secretary Stanek declared that he believed if Czechoslovakia made itself independent of Rome it would be a great step toward the full liberation of the Czech Nation from the bonds of foreign culture. With the vote of separation a committee of twelve was appointed, and the organization of the new national Church begun.

On President Masaryk's seventieth birthday—a national holiday in Czechoslovakia—President Wilson cabled the following message:

On this anniversary of your birth I offer to you my warm felicitations and best wishes, at the same time congratulating the people of Czechoslovakia on the good fortune that has placed the administration of their affairs in the hands of one whose broad-minded policy and scrupulously fair treatment of minorities are contributing so largely to the welding of Czechoslovakia into a stable nation.

FRANCE

On Feb. 17 M. Poincaré pronounced his Presidential valedictory in the form of a message to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and on the following day Paul Deschanel entered upon his seven years' term of office as President of the republic; the outgoing President passed to him, through M. Dubail, the Grand Chancellor of the Order, the Grand Collar of the Legion of Honor. On Feb. 19 President Deschanel presented his first message to Parliament, which contained the following passage in regard to the Versailles Treaty:

France wishes that the treaty to which Germany appended her signature shall be obeyed, and that the aggressor shall not take from her the fruits of her heroic sacrifices. She means to live in security. The Russian people fought by our side during three years for the cause of liberty; may it, master of itself, soon resume in the plenitude of its genius the course of its civilizing mission. The

Eastern question causes periodical wars. The fate of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been settled. Our secular interests, rights, and traditions ought to be safeguarded there, too.

On Feb. 24 a railway strike called by the National Federation of Railwaymen soon developed into a general strike, by orders of the Federation of Labor, until by March 13 it included 400,000 toilers in factories, mills, and mines. The Government settled the railway strike on March 1 by calling the railwaymen under the colors and by the direct intervention of Premier Millerand, who promised adjustment of grievances. The other strikes were gradually being settled by mutual concessions, hastened by the Federation, which found itself placed on the defensive by the accusation of an attempt to make Soviet rule dominate France. Simultaneously with the ending of the railroad strike the National Socialist Congress at Strasbourg voted down a motion, by the ratio of two to one, to ally the Socialists of France with Lenin and Trotzky. The popular press of the country had formally condemned the other strikes as unpatriotic.

Many communes invoked old laws for two purposes: to preserve food supplies and private security in case of labor disturbances and to apply more special taxation. Thus Paris is to have a tax on certain luxuries, including servants and pianos, in the hope of making good a \$30,000,000 deficit.

On Feb. 22 the General Staff obtained from the Government permission to keep 1,000,000 men instead of 800,000 under arms, with all supply departments on an emergency war footing.

The often postponed trial of former Premier Joseph Caillaux, charged with an attempt to induce a defeatist peace with Germany, was begun before the High Court of the Senate on Feb. 17. In sessions held periodically in the next thirty days testimony was introduced to show the defendant's treasonable complicity in the Bonnet Rouge, Le Journal, the Duval and Bolo Pacha affairs, and his treasonable transactions with German agents in South America in 1915, and with defeatist propagandists at Rome in 1916.

HOLLAND

The great strike of the dockers at the Dutch ports which began Feb. 12 was drawing slowly to a close, its end accelerated by mutual charges of betrayal exchanged between the Communists and the Socialists. The former charged that the Socialist press did not properly support the strike, while the Socialists charged that the Communists had betrayed them to the Russian Bolsheviks, and caused them to lose many members through Soviet allurements. Meanwhile millions of tons of foodstuffs destined for famished Central Europe and millions of tons of German coal destined for France, as required by the Treaty of Versailles, were held up for weeks at the great ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, guarded by troops on shore and on the water by Dutch gunboats.

The first revelations of the true object of the strike, which, beginning with a wage grievance, soon developed into a combat for power over the shipowners and control of the Central Dockers' Bureau, came from the Socialist organ *Het Volk*; after encouraging the strike, this paper later denounced it as an attempt of the Lenin Government, through the Dutch Communists, to fasten a Soviet Government on Holland. It was charged that in the middle of January a Dutch engineer named Rutgers, an official of the Soviet Government of Russia, called a meeting of foreign Communist delegates at the Amsterdam house of the Dutch Communist leader, Wynkoop. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is said to have represented British Communism, and a man named Frayne, American.

The Russian Soviet Government placed at the disposition of the conference a quantity of jewels, including diamonds and pearls worth \$10,000,000, and Rutgers informed the conference that he could obtain another similar sum in order to finance each strike. It was argued that Lenin was determined to reach the countries outside of Russia through a successful strike at the ports which would cause such an embargo as to force Holland to seek relief through establishing a Soviet Government.

In order to make the strike more ef-

fective the Independent Transport Workers' Union, which had delegates at the conference, united with the Socialist body known as the Modern Transport Workers' Labor Union and induced the latter to call the strike purely on economic grounds, denying that it had anything to do with political aims.

As *Het Volk* day after day reeled off the foregoing dismal story of the betrayal of Dutch labor the *Handelsblad* gave further details of the conspiracy, according to which the Soviet Government was to establish in Holland a central bureau from which strikes were to be directed and financed, whenever necessary, all over the world; and in every strike, whatever the cause, the strikers should demand peace with Russia which, it was acknowledged, was not only imperative to maintain the Soviet Government, but also necessary for the development of the world revolution.

HUNGARY

In Hungary, the "stormy petrel" of Central Europe, a plot to restore ex-Emperor Charles to the Magyar throne was frustrated on Feb. 14. The plan was to provide the ex-Emperor with a false passport bearing the name Kaspar Kovacs, to be issued by the Swiss Consul in Budapest. Charles was then to cross from Switzerland into Lichtenstein by boat over the Rhine, accompanied by four companions. From Lichtenstein he was to proceed to West Hungary and proclaim his return. But the Budapest Swiss Consul recognized the photograph on the passport as that of the ex-Emperor and promptly reported the matter to the authorities.

Rumania yielded to the demands of the Peace Conference by commencing on Feb. 1 to withdraw her forces at last from the front along the river Theiss to a line sixty to eighty miles east of the river. By the 27th this movement was completed, and the vacated territory was occupied by a Hungarian military detachment without conflict. Observers with the Hungarian force found the inhabitants in a poverty-stricken condition; the Rumanians had carried off seed, grain and agricultural machinery, as well as railway supplies.

On March 1 the definite announcement was made from Budapest of the election of Admiral Nicholas Horthy as Regent or Protector of Hungary by a substantial majority of the National Assembly. His salary was fixed at 3,000,000 kronen a year. Admiral Horthy went to the Parliament Building to take the oath of office through flag-draped streets amid enthusiastic crowds. Addresses eulogized him as having "saved the nation from ruin." Correspondents, writing of him, declared that a new personality had arisen among the rulers of European States and characterized him as a picturesque figure who might yet play a prominent rôle because of the ends he had in view. These ends were generally believed to include the restoration of former King Charles or his eldest son Otto—a policy directly opposed to the decision of the Peace Conference. On the 5th the new Protector issued a manifesto in which he said:

Extreme tendencies must be suppressed. Profiteering and corruption must cease and Christian morals be re-established. Amid an ocean of international unrest the Hungarian people is the first that is finding its way to consolidation. The new Hungary must supply proper economic and social conditions to each class and supplant vengeance and hatred with mutual understanding, in order that peace may return.

The eager desire of the Hungarians to bring to trial all members of the fallen Communist régime interned in Austria was responsible for an attempt to kidnap Bela Kun from a hospital near Vienna on the night of March 7. Ten armed men suddenly appeared at the hospital and bribed the watcher. The latter, however, gave warning to the police. The armed party took alarm and escaped before the police arrived.

London advices of March 12 stated that a new Hungarian Peace Treaty had been definitely agreed upon by the Supreme Council. It had been placed in the hands of the Drafting Committee, and was expected to be completed within a week. In this new treaty various economic concessions were granted, but the territorial clauses against which Hungary had protested so vigorously remained unchanged.

ITALY

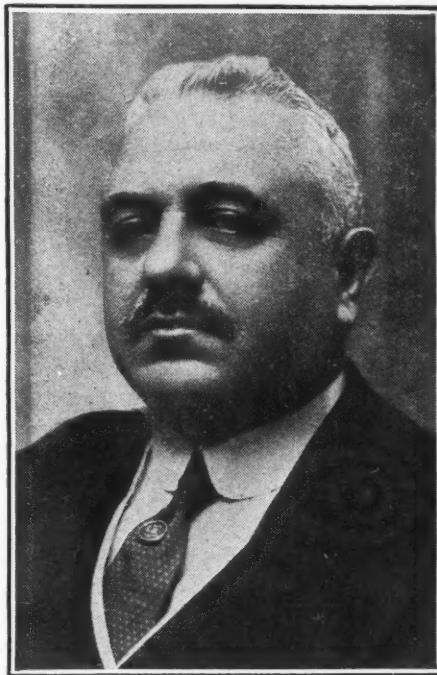
After negotiations lasting several days with party leaders Premier Nitti reorganized his Cabinet on March 13. The chief features in the new Government are the reappearance of Professor Luigi Luzzatti, the famous founder of the People's Banks, as Minister of the Treasury, and Signori Bonomi, Torre, Alessio and Rainieri, who are more or less affiliated with the Catholic or Popular Party, which, however, as a political organization, would not allow its leader, Signor Meda, to accept a portfolio. The complete list is:

Premier and Minister of the Interior—F. S. NITTI.
Vice President of the Council and Treasurer—Prof. LUZZATTI.
Foreign Affairs—VITTORIO SCIALOIA.
War—IVANOE BONOMI.
Navy—Amm. SECHI.
Finance—CARLO SCIANZER.
Pardon and Justice—LUDOVICO MORTARA.
Public Instruction—ANDREA TORRE.
Public Works—GIUSEPPE DE NAVA.
Agriculture—ACHILLE VISOCCHI.
Industry and Commerce—DANTE FERRARIS.
Posts and Telegraphs—GIULIO ALESSIO.
Transportation—ROBERTO DI VITO.
Liberated Provinces—GIOVANNI RAINERI.

The general conservative nature of the new Government, which contains several experts in finance and industry, engendered the belief in the press of the Peninsula that Signor Nitti was determined to invite the support of the Catholics and parliamentary Socialists against the extremists with Bolshevik proclivities; at the same time fear was expressed that such a policy could not survive if Signor Giolitti, his defeatist and non-intervention policies of the war being forgotten, should attempt to seize the reins of power with the co-operation of the Catholics and the old Socialist leaders, Signori Treves and Turati. For Giolitti, although out of office since March, 1914, was said still to control sixty of the sixty-nine prefects of the provinces, and it is from the prefects, appointed as permanent State officials by the Minister of the Interior, that the Deputies take their orders, and not from their constituents. There were several signs of Socialist and Catholic unity on questions of trade, industrial, and social

union and measures for the betterment of the condition of the masses, but a wide difference of opinion prevailed as to how these reforms should be carried out.

Although the war rationing was revived in regard to several necessities, the general financial condition showed



FRANCESCO NITTI
Italian Premier

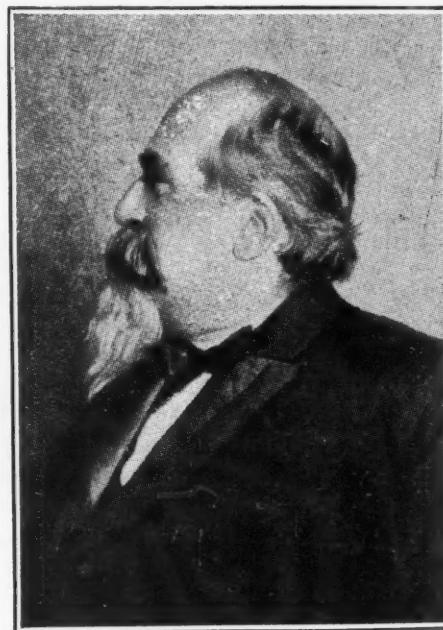
improvement, the deposits in the savings banks having doubled in the last year, and the present loan rising beyond all expectation. In anticipation of a tax on capital, notices were issued on Feb. 20 ordering every one, under pain of heavy penalties, to make a return of his entire capital, including investments in other countries, before March 31. But Italy still waited feverishly for American and English coal and iron, especially the former. The well-known engineer, Luigi Luiggi, writing in the *Giornale d'Italia* on Feb. 25, urged the early adoption of "Summer time" in order to economize coal.

He stated that the figures from America show a saving of $12\frac{1}{2}$ tons for every 1,000 inhabitants, while the figures for Eng-

land and France show a lessened consumption of from 6 to 15 per cent. Allowing that, in view of Italy's relatively small consumption of coal, the reduction per 1,000 inhabitants would only amount to one-third of that in America, yet this would mean a saving of 160,000 tons, the cost of which works out at some hundred million lire. Both the coal and the money are well worth saving.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

From day to day it seemed likely that each resignation of the Allende-Salazar Cabinet would become permanent, but each time the King insisted that it re-



LUIGI LUZZATTI
Member of new Italian Cabinet

main in power, and so the fight against the Syndicalists continued.

Spain has had no fewer than eight new Governments with fifty ministerial changes in less than two years. Last year alone saw four changes in Cabinets with forty-four ministerial changes. Virtually every one of these changes was due to the military juntas or "Consultative Committees."

These juntas were originally formed to fight favoritism and injustice in the army, the chief grievance of the members being that places on the General Staff

were allotted to favorites of the Government of the day. One of the first actions of the juntas, which are presided over by the Colonels, the highest ranking officers who are allowed to join, was to decide that none of the members should allow their names to be placed in nomination for places on the General Staff.

The result would have been that after the death or retirement of the present members there would be no officers to form the staff. But twenty-three officers refused to be bound by this decision, with the result that they were haled before courts of honor and their resignations from the army insisted upon. Governments, under pressure from the Liberal, Socialist and other progressive elements in the Cortes, have promised to revoke these decisions of the courts of honor, but found it difficult to do so, for the juntas threatened to withdraw their support from the Government; in other words, should an emergency arise such as a revolution or social war the army would be leaderless.

Thus the juntas became a political force, which opposed radical legislation and otherwise interfered in affairs of State. They are really a great fraternal society, the members of which accept orders only from the presiding Colonels in all affairs of the army, ignoring those of King, Generals and Government. To dissolve these juntas the Cortes must pass a bill to repeal the act which legalized them, and the moment that is done every infantry officer who obeys the orders of his junta must resign from the army. Sooner or later the new Cabinet must face a debate on the "military question." This has, since the intervention of the juntas in politics, each time led to the downfall of the Ministry.

King Alfonso's name has invariably been left out of the discussion, but it is said that the officers induced him to support the organization, and his action recently in attending a big banquet given at Toledo by the infantry officers has lent color to the report.

Portugal's policy of drift ended abruptly on March 6 when the Government was overthrown on account of opposition of the Labor members to a policy of coercion in order to end the strikes.

Thereupon Antonio Silva, former Minister of Public Works, took the Premiership and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs with these colleagues:

Minister of the Interior—Antonio Bautista.
Justice—Lorenzo Cardezo.
War—Julio Martins.
Navy—Victor Macedo.
Colonies—Dominho Fria.
Commerce—Senhor Cunhaleale.
Agriculture—Juan Luis.

SWEDEN

The most remarkable event in the political annals of the age took place in Sweden, where with a King on the throne a Government entirely made up of Socialists began its work. On March 6 the Liberal-Socialist Eden Cabinet resigned and no Liberal group could be gathered which would have survived a vote in the second Chamber of the Riksdag, where the ratio of the Socialists over the Liberals was three to two. Four days later Hjalmar Branting, leader of the right wing, or parliamentary faction of the Socialists, offered the following slate, entirely made up of Socialists, to his Majesty, who accepted it, Branting himself registering as President of the Council:

Foreign Affairs—Baron Erik Kule Palmstierna (Baron Palmstierna was Minister of Marine in the late Cabinet).

Justice—B. Oestern Unden, Professor, Minister without portfolio in the late Cabinet.

War—P. Albin Nansen, editor of Social-Demokraten, published by Mr. Branting.

Marine—J. Bernhard Erikson, ironworker, member of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag.

Interior—C. E. Svenson, editor of Folket (The People), a radical organ, and member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag.

Finance—Fredrik Wilhelm Thorson, who occupied the same post in the late Cabinet.

Education—Olof Olson, who retained the portfolio he held in the old Cabinet.

Agriculture—O. Nilson, farmer, member of the Second Chamber.

Ministers Without Portfolios—Rickard J. Sandler, member of the First Chamber, and Thorsten Karl Victor Nothin, who is Solicitor for the Department of Finance.

Hjalmar Branting, who has the reputation of having kept his country from joining Germany in the war and the Russian Soviet Government after it, was a member of the old Liberal-Socialist Cabinet, but resigned on account of ill-health

in 1917. The crisis which led to the fall of the coalition arose through the impossibility of Liberals and Socialists—the latter had a majority in Parliament—conducting the business of the Government. From now on the left wing, or extreme Socialists, will constitute the Opposition. They are in full accord with the Third International of Lenin and Trotzky, while the right wing condemns the Soviets.

THE VATICAN

The bill introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies on March 11 to re-establish relations between the Government of the Republic and the Vatican excited much more interest in the latter's circles than it did in France, where even those who were instrumental twenty years ago in bringing about the Associations Law and the separation of the Church, with the abrogation of the Concordat, believed the bill was a good thing, as, in the words of M. Briand, "France should not hold aloof from the negotiations in which non-Catholic powers are participating in Rome."

The Vatican press has long held that the magnificent work done in the war by French priests should meet with recognition on the part of the French Government, which should no longer make them feel that their patriotism had not the sanction of Rome.

Besides, the Catholic majority in Alsace and Lorraine was in an anomalous situation—the Germans when they took possession in 1871 guaranteed it the Concordat, and now it found itself in France, where the Concordat had been repudiated.

In Vatican circles it was looked upon as a foregone conclusion that the bill in question would pass the French Parliament without opposition, as it had not only the support, but the enthusiastic advocacy of Premier Millerand, and French prelates writing to the Vatican even went so far as to state that the first French Ambassador to the Vatican had already been decided upon in the person of Jules Cambon, successively Ambassador at Washington and Berlin, whose brother Paul had held the post at London for many years.

Affairs in Asiatic Countries

JAPAN AND CHINA

The dilemma forced upon Japan by the refusal of China to accept the direct negotiations regarding Shantung, offered through Mr. Obata, the Japanese Ambassador to Peking, on Jan. 19, made the already strained situation still more acute. Of the two parties to the Shantung dispute it was the Chinese who had the advantage; their refusal to open negotiations regarding territory ceded under a treaty which they had refused to sign was strictly logical, while the Japanese, having pledged their word of honor to restore Kiao-Chau to Chinese sovereignty, were nonplussed by the refusal to negotiate, which they had not expected.

The announced intention of the Chinese Government to appeal to the League of Nations on the Shantung issue meant much more, according to the Japanese Chronicle, than a mere reopening of the

argument regarding the rights and wrongs of the settlement. The Japanese demand that the question of restoration be left to their national honor, this paper stated, was in reality a claim for recognition of the principle that in disputes between China and Japan no other power has any right of interference, and China's project to refer the dispute to the League of Nations amounted essentially to an attempt to challenge and defeat this principle before it was established in practice.

The Chinese held that the original Japanese proposal made no mention of the privileges that Japan was retaining, among which were listed a Japanese or foreign settlement at Tsingtao, Japanese ownership of docks and railways, mines and other concessions, and the building of barracks and hospitals at various places in Shantung. Thus the only proper course for Japan to follow, in

the Chinese view, was to withdraw completely from Shantung and allow the Chinese administration to resume its sway.

Besides the negative weapon of refusal to open negotiations, China continued to boycott all Japanese goods. One need only glance at the detailed statistics given by Millard's Review or the Herald of Asia to realize the full cost of the Japanese policy in China. The serious decline in the trade of the Japanese steamship companies is seen in the fall from 154 tons per trip in 1918 to an average of barely seventy-one tons per trip during the first ten months of 1919. Cotton yarn, paper, cotton cloth, umbrellas, canvas bags, matches showed a net decrease of 70 per cent.; patent medicines, looking glasses, earthenware, soap, hats and caps, fans, cotton hosiery, cotton tissues, satin, a decrease of 54 per cent. The Japanese exhausted every means to compel the lifting of this boycott; strong pressure was brought to bear on the Peking Government to take drastic measures against all boycott agitators, but without effect; the protest of the Japanese Consul General at Tientsin to Pien Yuch-ting's election to the Presidency of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Tientsin, fundamentally on the ground of his favoring the boycott, is still fresh in the minds of all Chinese.

Mr. Putnam Weale, adviser to the Chinese Government, declared in January in an official memorandum to the Chinese Cabinet that the situation caused throughout China by the Shantung controversy was one of dangerous possibilities, and might lead to a revolution if the national sentiment were disregarded. Gigantic demonstrations occurred in Shanghai Feb. 15-17, at which the overwhelming sentiment against negotiations with Japan and in favor of an appeal to the League of Nations was voiced, and the release of students arrested for demonstrations in Peking was demanded. During these manifestations, participated in by thousands of people, all Chinese stores were closed.

Despite these evidences of popular feeling the Anfu, the Conservative Party

in control of China's Central Government, which favors the opening of negotiations with Japan, on Feb. 19 forced the resignation of Lu Tser-y-tsiang, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and of Cheng-lu, the Vice Foreign Minister, on the ground of their voicing the national view that such negotiations should not be opened. Ten days later (March 1) came the news that Ching-yung P'Eng, the Chinese Premier, had been forced out of office by the same party, and on the same grounds. He had been opposed by the Military Party, and especially by the Anfu, composed of pro-Japanese military chiefs, since November, 1919. Ching-yung P'Eng had been looked upon by Chinese leaders as a power in the development of the new Chinese Government tending to the unification of the clashing factions of the north and south. The resignation of these three high officials was expected by Chinese diplomatic officials to cause a strong reaction throughout China.

One phase of the Shantung controversy was the condemnation of the Japanese policy embodied in one of the reservations to the Peace Treaty proposed in the United States Senate. Dr. T. Iyenaga, Japanese Director of the East and West News Bureau, on Feb. 29 issued a warning that this reservation, if passed without modification by the Senate, might have an "undesirable effect" on Japanese-American relations.

It became evident soon after the official refusal by the Washington Government, couched in diplomatic language, to join with Japan in the holding of Eastern Siberia against the advancing forces of the triumphant Bolsheviks that the Japanese policy determined on was one of neutrality. Japan's disinclination to stem the tide of Bolshevism alone by force of arms was made plain in many directions. The policy of favoring the Socialist Revolutionaries was admitted by Mr. Kato, the Japanese Ambassador to Siberia, who stated that this party now welcomed the Japanese troops and sought their assistance in maintaining order in the districts which it had taken over.

The debate in the Diet on Feb. 14 on universal suffrage broke up in violent

scenes. The opposition attacked the Government for opposing the measure, and the President was obliged to interfere. The police fought members of the House in the lobby, and crowds outside tried to break into the building. They were held back by the police and military. Demonstrations in the city lasted till late at night, and many attacks upon official residences occurred. These demonstrations were continued for the next two weeks, and were marked by new attacks both on houses and persons. The state of popular unrest over the suffrage question was extreme, and was the culmination of widespread dissatisfaction with the decree of two years ago which limited the franchise to those whose direct tax exceeded 3 yen (about \$1.75), thus excluding the entire body of labor, farm laborers and mechanics.

In the debates on suffrage in the Diet a profound difference of opinion showed itself between the Cabinet and the Kensei-kai, the majority opposition party, and the violence of the discussion indicated the impossibility of an agreement. Premier Hara on Feb. 26, by a coup d'état introduced into the midst of a heated debate, produced an imperial decree dissolving the Diet. He had previously declared that he questioned whether the demand for universal suffrage was the voice of the people at large, but must be submitted for judgment. Extraordinary police activity outside the Parliament showed how well prepared the Government was to quell all disorders following upon this decree.

PERSIA

It was announced in Teheran, Feb. 8, but the announcement was much delayed in transmission to Europe, that the Anglo-Persian Treaty negotiated a year ago had borne fruit—a British syndicate representing the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Armstrong-Whitworth, Vickers and Weetman Pearson had secured from the Teheran Government permission to survey a railway from the present rail-head of the Mesopotamian lines to Kuretu, near Kasri-i-Shrin, via Kerman-shah, Hamadan and Kasvin to Teheran, with a branch line from Kasvin to Enzeli on the Caspian. On the completion of

the survey the Persian Government has the option to build the road itself by borrowing money from the syndicate or to allow the syndicate to do the building. According to the announcement of Feb. 8:

The survey will be begun immediately. The line, presumably, will be of metre



gauge in continuation of the existing metre gauge railway from Bagdad to the Persian frontier. The track will probably closely follow the road built by the Royal Engineers to Hamadan, the alignment of which was made by the Russians at an earlier period of the war. From Hamadan the line will follow the existing road to Kasvin-Teheran and Kasvin-Enzeli. There are three steep passes for the line to be carried over—Pal-tak, Asadabad and Aveh.

TURKEY

The news published by Admiral de Robeck, the British High Commissioner, on Feb. 17 that the Supreme Council had decided not to deprive Turkey of Constantinople, counteracted for a few days on the Golden Horn the effect of the news sent by Turkish agents that Eastern Thrace and Smyrna had been turned over to Greece, only to be succeeded by further apprehension when it was learned that martial law might be proclaimed on account of the Cilician massacres, in

which the Turkish press declares neither the Nationals nor the regular troops had any hand.

Diplomats in Constantinople attach little importance to the new Cabinet still (Mar. 15) in process of construction under Sali Pasha as Grand Vizier. So far, however, the personnel is considered more favorable to the Entente than was the Government of Djemel Pasha, including as it does Djelal Bey, President of the Council of State; Zia Bey, Minister of Commerce, and Omar Houlousse Bey, Minister of Religious Funds.

The Interallied Mission had established beyond any doubt the complicity of Djemal with the Nationalist leader Mustapha Kemal in furnishing arms and aiding in the mobilization and transport. Meanwhile the Sultan was under pressure from two directions—from the Entente and from Mustapha Kemal at Ankara, who attempted, but not altogether successfully, to dictate the personnel of the new Ministry; the Turkish delegation to the Peace Conference, however, was made up without his knowledge. On March 15 it was announced as follows:

Tewfik Pasha, former Foreign Minister as President.

Izzet Pasha, former Minister of War.

Rifaat Pasha, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Safa Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nabi Bey, Alib Memali Bey, Ahmed Riza Bey and Torgut Pasha, who will act as military adviser, and General Shevken, his aid.

On March 3 the Turkish press was much agitated over the news announced by Abdul Kador Effendi, head of the Kurdish group in the Senate, that an understanding had been reached between the Armenians and the Kurds, and that on this account the Kurdish leaders had redoubled their efforts before the Peace Conference to obtain autonomy for Kurdistan. As Abdul Kador frankly advocated this autonomy he at once became the storm centre of the Nationalist press.

On Feb. 21 the Central Committee of the Moslem Theological Academy handed the following note to the Allied High Commissioners:

The duty of Islam, which directs the opinion of a great proportion of mankind, proclaims to all Moslems and the

world its attitude towards Bolshevism. Whether Bolshevik principles are good or evil the fact that their application harms social life and individual property rights makes them incompatible with the principles of Islam. Since the beginning of Islam attacks on life and property, thefts, massacres, pillages and rapes have been condemned and penal sentences imposed. On the contrary, the requisite of Islam is happiness, tranquillity and general progress. It forbids taking property and lives, and ensures the rights of individuals and communities. Consequently Islam's ruling is that every individual should have the right to dispose at will of his own property during life and by will after death. It is, therefore, in the interest of Moslemism and the duty of the Khaliphate to oppose Bolshevism as dangerous to civilization, justice and right.

On Feb. 17 the first echelon of the British garrison at Batum reached Constantinople. It was announced that Batum would be occupied by Georgian troops, but it was doubted whether they would be able to maintain order, which was threatened by bands of two descriptions; local Bolshevik sympathizers and Turkish Nationalist bands. The withdrawal from Batum was obviously to increase the British garrison on the Golden Horn.

On Feb. 25 the Azerbaijan Government formally refused the British demands to surrender the Turkish-proscribed Pashas, Nury and Halil, on the ground that such action would be a violation of the laws of hospitality, and more so in view of the services rendered to Azerbaijan by Nury Pasha and his uncle, Halil.

The events which led to the proclamation of Prince, or Emir, Feisal as King of Syria and Prince Abdulla as King of Irak (The Bagdad region of Mesopotamia), the eldest and third sons of King Hussein of Hedjaz, were forecast in Constantinople as early as Feb. 14, when the local press announced that a new National Syrian Party had been formed at Damascus, with the object of placing Emir Feisal on the throne. Its political program was said to include complete independence, the union of Syrian Arabs, the promotion of learning, equal civil and political rights for everybody, the upholding of the principle of democratic monarchy by creating a Royal Parlia-

mentary Government under Emir Feisal, the amelioration of social conditions by means of co-operative societies and agri-

cultural societies, and the creation of an army to uphold the Emir. [For further matter on Turkey see Pages 103-116.]

Developments in Latin America

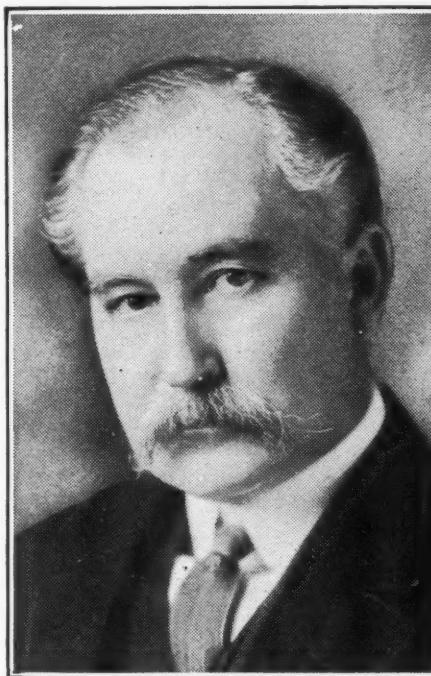
MEXICO

Outrages in Mexico against American citizens, which have been sporadic ever since General Carranza became President, have continued despite vigorous protests by the State Department. Many of these were revealed by the Senate sub-committee, which has been investigating conditions in Mexico, taking testimony in Texas at San Antonio and El Paso. Colonel George T. Langhorne, Captain W. V. D. Ochs and Captain Leonard F. Matlack, all of the Eighth Cavalry, told the Senators that often Carranza's own men took part in raids on the American side, and that neither the civil nor military authorities of Mexico aided the American forces in fighting Mexican mrauders.

Senator Fall of New Mexico, Chairman of the sub-committee, obtained its appointment after having introduced in the Senate a resolution intended to break off our diplomatic relations with Mexico—a move against which President Wilson at once protested. Luis Cabrera, Carranza's Secretary of Finance, was invited to testify, but refused, charging that Senator Fall was prejudiced against Mexico. The Mexican authorities tried to hinder the sub-committee's activities by refusing to foreigners, who left Mexico to testify, permission to return, and by threatening to consider as traitors Mexicans who appeared. It was also announced that W. O. Jenkins, former United States Consular Agent at Puebla, whose permission to act in that capacity was recently revoked, would be expelled from Mexico if found guilty by the Puebla court of aiding rebel forces in that district.

Three cases of the murder of Americans were reported to the State Department early in January, and made the basis of representations to Mexico. One was that of Gabriel Porter, an employe of the Penn-Mex Oil Company, who was shot by a Mexican Federal army officer on Dec. 21. F. J. Roney and Earl Bowles,

employes of the International Petroleum Company, were murdered on Jan. 5 near Port Lobos, an oil-loading station be-



SENATOR FALL OF NEW MEXICO
Chairman of Senate Subcommittee investigating Mexican outrages
(© Harris & Ewing)

between Tampico and Tuxpam. Roney bore a resemblance to the paymaster, and the motive for the killing was alleged to be robbery. The Mexicans reported the Porter case as one of accidental shooting. Alexander Ross, a British subject, was kidnapped on Jan. 18, near Orizaba, but was rescued next day by Federal forces under Colonel Durazo. Several American Army aviators, forced to land on Mexican soil, were detained for a time, but were later released.

Wilson W. Adams, an American mine Superintendent, was captured by bandits in Zacatecas on Feb. 13 and held for

50,000 pesos ransom. The State authorities and Federal troops searched for his captors and obtained his release after six days. Mexican bandits on Feb. 27 raided the general store of Ruby, Ariz., killed one of the owners, Alexander Fraser, and seriously wounded his brother. American troops crossed the border on the trail of the bandits, but returned after an unsuccessful search.

The boldest attack for several months was that led personally by Francisco Villa, who with a band of 150 armed men on March 4 held up a northbound Mexico City train near Corralitos, Chihuahua, robbed the passengers, set the cars afire, and carried off Joseph Williams, an American engineer, for ransom. Fifty Yaqui soldiers were aboard the train as a guard; nineteen of them were killed and nearly all the others wounded; seven escaping unhurt. The train had been derailed by an explosive on the track. Two conductors were killed, a Syrian merchant was carried off, and five Mexican passengers who attempted to escape were shot. Williams was released after being held four days by Villa, who asserted his power to enter towns in that section of the country at will.

Coincidently with the latest outrages the Mexican Foreign Office announced that an association of Mexicans and Americans had been discovered on the border banded together for the purpose of kidnapping and holding for ransom foreigners, preferably Americans. Instructions were issued to the military commanders in Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas to break up these bands. It is also planned to erect concrete block houses with a guard of fifty soldiers to each to protect the railroad lines.

Mexico hopes, as a result of the retirement of Secretary Lansing, to be able to import arms from the United States. It was he who tightened the already existing embargo on sending arms to Mexico by an order requiring special licenses after Jan. 1 from the State Department for all such shipments. A large consignment of arms was reported to have been received from Japan by a

merchant vessel which touched at Mazanillo on Dec. 24. The Mexicans have been adding machine-gun units to their infantry and cavalry commands, and their ammunition factories are busy, particularly one near Mexico City under the direction of the German Mexican General Maximilian M. Kloss.

Preparations are being made for the Presidential elections in July, and supporters of Carranza have won the first skirmish for position, obtaining a decisive majority of the Permanent Commission which will have full control of the electoral machinery and will install the new Congress on Sept. 1. The principal candidates for the Presidency, besides Carranza, are General Alvaro Obregon, head of the Liberal Constitutional Party, and Ignacio Bonillas, former Mexican Ambassador at Washington. The latter has the support of General Cândido Aguilar, son-in-law of President Carranza.

Largely figuring in the campaign will be the attitude of the candidates on the oil question, especially Article XXVII. of the new Constitution. Mexico in that document asserts the fundamental right of the people to the soil of their country and imposes land taxes which the foreign oil interests declare are confiscatory. Taxes were assessed for "potential production," and American companies protesting were not allowed to drill new wells. They appealed to the State Department for protection. In reply the Mexican Embassy stated that the capacity of the 310 oil-producing wells in Mexico was 2,000,000 barrels per day, and only 220,000 were being extracted for export and home consumption, leaving a margin of 1,780,000 barrels a day to be drawn upon by simply opening the valves of the wells. The Government denied preventing production, and said if there were a shortage it was due to the owners. Meantime restriction of shipments caused a rapid rise in the price of fuel oil here.

Several sharp notes were sent to Mexico by the State Department in the interests of American oil companies, and finally on Jan. 17 President Carranza agreed to issue permits for drilling wells,

good until the new Congress should settle the whole question.

CENTRAL AMERICA

With the adhesion of Salvador to the League of Nations by vote of her Congress on March 10, and of Venezuela on March 13, all the thirteen States invited to accede to the covenant have decided to join. The United States, Mexico and Costa Rica are the only countries in the Western Hemisphere that remain outside the League up to March 16.

Salvador has revived the scheme for a Central American federation or union of the five Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Salvador under one Government. The date for which this is now set is Sept. 15, 1921, the centennial of their independence of Spain. This initiative followed a request from Salvador to President Wilson, asking for an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. In reply the President referred the Salvadoreans to his speech before the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Washington on Jan. 6, 1916, in which he explained the doctrine as demanding that European Governments should not extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic, and added that the States of America must guarantee to each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity.

Chief opposition to the Central American Union is said to come from President Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala, who contends that the Unionists are reactionaries. Guatemala was the first country in the Western Hemisphere to ratify the Peace Treaty, which she did on Oct. 1, 1919.

Honduras had a brief revolution in February, which was a revival of the opposition to General Lopez Gutierrez, leader of a successful revolt which ended in his election to the Presidency on Oct. 26. The discontented faction gathered a small army in Nicaragua and crossed the border, sacking towns. They were easily defeated, and on Feb. 25 it was stated that Honduras had disbanded her troops, leaving only small garrisons in

the department capitals, relying on the promises of President Chamorra of Nicaragua that he would not permit the enemies of the present Government of Honduras to obtain arms on Nicaraguan territory.

SOUTH AMERICA

One of the first questions likely to be submitted to the League of Nations is the long-standing controversy between Bolivia, Chile and Peru over the former provinces of Tacna and Arica. Peru on Jan. 29 gave notice of her intention to submit the various claims to the League, and the Bolivian Senate unanimously approved the report of the Foreign Minister on the negotiations by which Bolivia seeks to gain a seaport on the Pacific.

The dispute grows out of the war waged by Chile against Peru and Bolivia for possession of the nitrate beds of Atacama in 1884. Chile was victorious and annexed the territory cutting off Bolivia from the sea, but promising a plebiscite in ten years. This promise was never carried out. The Chilean Minister at La Paz in 1900 informed Bolivia that there would be no compensation for the annexed provinces, which Chile held "by the same title as that by which Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine"—a plea that is not likely to go far with the League of Nations. In 1904 an indemnity of \$4,000,000 was paid to Bolivia, and Chile built for her a railroad from La Paz to Arica, giving her the coveted outlet to the sea. But Bolivia is not content with this single outlet and wants a larger coast line, including the province of Tacna, which was Peruvian before the war of 1880, leaving to Chile the former Bolivian provinces of Antofagasta and Atacama. Peru on Feb. 25 sent a note to Bolivia expressing surprise at the latter's policy aiming at the incorporation of Tacna and the city of Arica in Bolivian territory, and saying that Peru would never cede her rights there to Bolivia or any other nation. In reply Bolivia on March 4 declared her purpose not to be inactive in the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy. Eduardo Diez de Medina has been named to argue the case for Bolivia before the

League of Nations, and the Bolivian Foreign Office has ordered the compilation of data to be presented.

At the second Pan American Financial Conference, which opened in Washington on Jan. 19, a comprehensive scheme of co-operation for the development of the great natural resources of the Americas and the adjustment of international obligations was considered. On motion of Dr. Jose Luis Tejadas of Bolivia, the conference recommended relief for Europe from the United States through the medium of loans to South and Central American countries, the proceeds being applied to the payment of the debts of those countries to Europe in the form of foodstuffs. The existing exchange rates would work to the benefit of all concerned, it was said, and at least \$1,000,000,000 would thus be made available to put Europe on her feet.

Among other recommendations of the Congress were the following:

That a uniform census of all American countries be taken every ten years;

That the metric system of weights and measures be universally employed;

That the plan of arbitration of commercial disputes in effect between the Bolsa de Comercio of Buenos Aires and the United States Chamber of Commerce be adopted by all the American countries;

That the importation of raw materials into any country shall not be prevented by prohibitive duties.

More efficient mail service was urgently advocated by several of the delegates. Dr. Ricardo Aldao of Argentina said that business men in his country were recently sixty-three days without mail because of the lack of steamship service. Dr. Henrique Perez DuPuy of Venezuela said that communication between the United States and his country was better twenty-five years ago than it is today. The Brazilians suggested the establishment of an international training ground for the development of an aviation service between the Americas to be used especially for parcel post purposes. The Paraguayan representatives urged the United States Shipping Board to establish fortnightly sailings to River Plate ports, saying that communication now is slower and less satisfactory than with Europe.

Development of the mineral resources of Peru and Chile has led to a demand for better ports nearer to the sources of supply. Abandonment of Mollendo, which is nothing but an open roadstead, and the creation of a new port at Matarani Bay about thirteen miles further north has been urged on the Peruvian Government. For her part Chile has been constructing a large breakwater, a long quai wall and a modern coal pier at Valparaiso and plans to build a breakwater and modern piers at Antofagasta. Some American companies have constructed ports and concrete piers to handle ore from their mines.

The universal quest for oil is being pursued energetically in South America, and a concession to a British company for an immense petroleum tract on the Huallaga and Ucayali Rivers, approved on Jan. 29 by President Leguia, is now before the Peruvian Congress. Sir Frank Newnes and a powerful group of capitalist are said to be back of the concession, which is to run for five years.

There is a lively competition also for coal fields in a recently discovered coal zone in Southern Chile. American, British and Japanese interests are competing with Chileans for the coal, which is reported to be of excellent quality. Japan is also planning a new line of six sailing vessels equipped with auxiliary engines for direct service to Chile. Japan is one of the principal consumers of Chilean nitrates and imports a great deal of copper and iron ores. There is a great demand in Chile for Japanese cotton goods, glassware and porcelain, but exports have been hindered by high freight rates, which, it is expected, the proposed line of 5,000-ton sailing vessels will remedy.

Japan is further stimulating her trade with South America by accepting the proposal made by the Argentine Government to all nations last October that treaties be negotiated for free trade throughout the world in articles of prime necessity, in order to reduce the cost of living. Japan was the third nation to approve the project, Italy and Paraguay having proceeded her.



NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL, MONTREAL
(British and Colonial Press)

French Canada and the British Empire

By WILLIAM BANKS

WHEN a Canadian of English-speaking ancestry talks of Canada it is to the country as a whole that he refers. When a French-speaking native mentions Canada he thinks of the Province of Quebec first, and very often of no other section of the Dominion. The habitant—the agriculturist of Quebec—knows no other land. He loves it with a devotion that is found only where generations have been rooted to the soil. France means little to him. Immigration from that country is almost negligible. What there is of it does not always go to Quebec; the lure of the

Western prairies is too strong. Only 1,526 people came from France to Canada in 1919 out of a total immigration, according to recently issued official returns, of 117,633. Of this number 57,251 were from Britain and 52,064 from the United States.

In the Province of Quebec there are few large centres of urban population. Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke and Three Rivers about exhaust the list. There is a closer touch with the intricacies of British and European politics in these than in the rural districts. The habitant is more parochial, naturally. He knows

and appreciates in a general way that great quantities of his dairy produce go to England, and that there is a growing demand there for his tobacco. He approves the attitude of Britain from sentimental reasons in joining with France in the great war. But his affection for France, thinned by the lapse of the centuries since his ancestors owed allegiance to it, has been subjected to the strain of disapproval of the action of that country toward the Church to which, in the mass, he belongs.

These things are not always taken into account in the English-speaking provinces, Ontario and the West, into which the tide of British immigration has poured unceasingly, especially during the last fifty years. There have thus been maintained between Britain and the English-speaking provinces the closest possible ties of personal relationship. Generation after generation of Canadian-born have grown up with newcomers from the motherland, who, in turn, have become sturdy Canadian citizens while still regarding Britain as "home." This has served to keep Ontario and the West very intimately in touch with Old World politics, a process that has been aided by the growing trade between Canada and Europe, built up since the days when the Dingley and McKinley tariffs blocked the channels to the south.

Moreover, the Orange order is very strong in Ontario. It keeps alive the religious and racial prejudices. The average French Canadian is prone to judge his English-speaking and Protestant fellow-countrymen by the utterances of Orange journals and leaders. English-speaking Canadians do not always discriminate between the utterances of French journals like *Le Devoir* and its editor, Henri Bourassa, the fiery and amazingly eloquent Nationalist, who would have Canada break away altogether from the British Empire, and the majority of French newspapers, which, when they discuss the question, consider the existing British connection the safest and the best policy for the country. English-speaking Canada is always ready to fight for that connection, and to take part in the wars of Britain or the em-

pire as a whole. French Canada is slower to respond to the call to conflict beyond its own shores. It took some time for the habitant, who marries early and raises a large family, to realize the danger to his own country in the period of the World War. Invasion or attempted invasion would have found him enrolled to the last available man, particularly if the menace threatened his own beloved Quebec.

LOYALTY OF THE HABITANT

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who was Postmaster General in the Government of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, once put that idea in words that are still recalled with pleasure by those who try to be impartial in discussing the relation of Quebec to Canada and the empire. He was describing the awakening of his people to the seriousness of the world struggle and their duty toward it. He declared that the freedom enjoyed by the habitant under a series of concessions made by the British from the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when Canada became a British possession, had made him a loyal subject. He proceeded:

When the American Revolutionary War broke out, with France as the ally of the Thirteen Colonies, Lafayette, "Le heros des deux mondes," vainly appealed to the racial passions of the habitants, and could not induce them to join the rebels. Carroll, a young ecclesiastic, who later on became Bishop of Baltimore, vainly appealed to their religious feelings. The habitant's unflinching loyalty asserted itself for the first time. Why? Because England had been wise and strong. * * * In 1812 the Americans again invaded Canada. The habitants under de Salaberry again gave evidence of their gratitude toward Great Britain by repelling the invaders.

Lemieux used these historical records merely as a text upon which to base his story of the way in which Quebec was coming to a realization of the true situation in the war with the Central Powers, for happily there is no fear in these days of conflict with the great Republic. No one hailed with such joyous satisfaction the entry of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies as did Canadians without distinction of race.

It is in the attitude of bitter hostility

to the conscription measure adopted by the Government in 1917 and the controversy that still rages over it that some people, even in Canada, think they see an unfriendliness on the part of Quebec to other sections of Canada and to the British Empire. These people overlook the fact that Quebec was not alone in its opposition to that act. There are many members of the United Farmers of Ontario, including a number who sit in the Legislature today and support the Ontario Government, who fought the conscription proposals without cessation. It was among Ontario farmers that the idea of a monster deputation to the Federal Government originated. They had the pledges of the Government, as individuals and collectively, that there would be no compulsory calling up of married men or of farmers' sons who were bona fide farm workers—urgent appeals having been made to them to increase foodstuffs production to the utmost limit. Ontario men very largely organized the deputation, which numbered some 2,000—the greatest deputation the Canadian capital has known. Most of these farmers stayed in Ottawa for two days, and, so far as the Ontario representation was concerned, they began there the organization in concrete form of the movement which has since given them control of power in the Provincial Legislature.

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS

French-Canadian opponents of conscription were not only encouraged in their attitude by the stand of these Ontario objectors, but the political conditions in their own province were such as to stiffen their determination. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, their political idol for years, had refused Sir Robert Borden's belated offers to take part in the formation of a Union Government. In that Government, prior to the inclusion of the Liberals who finally accepted seats at the Cabinet table, were several men who were avowedly Nationalists, owing their election and their places of emolument to the acceptance of the doctrines of Henri Bourassa. The latter, through his paper and on the platform, was waging a campaign against further Canadian sacrifices in

the war, using language that rouses the ire of English-speaking Canadians yet. The higher clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, who, when the war broke out, urged aid for Britain and the empire, were critical toward conscription. The French-Canadian press was for the most part hostile.

To all these adverse forces was added a potent factor that few but Canadians versed in the intricacies of the politics of their own country would fully appreciate, namely, the dispute over bilingualism in the French-Canadian separate schools of Ontario. Regulation 17 of the Ontario Department of Education made important changes in the methods of teaching in these schools. The French-speaking people of the province believed that these infringed on their legal and moral rights. Their battle was taken up by their compatriots of Quebec with all the enthusiasm and bitterness that a racial argument usually engenders. Of this dispute Bourassa and his followers made effective use, and they were ably assisted by journals usually antagonistic to their nationalist doctrines. "The wounded of Ontario" became for many French Canadians a battle cry that drowned for a while the call from the fields of Flanders and France. It seemed as if Bourassa was about to attain one of the principal aims of his political life, the ousting of Sir Wilfrid Laurier from his place as leader of the French-speaking Canadian race. The former Premier of Canada himself, it is no secret, feared that, too. But while he resolutely maintained his opposition to conscription without consultation of the people, he nevertheless continued to urge that the duty of Canadians to the empire lay in active service. He lived long enough to find out that he had somewhat overrated Bourassa's influence in Quebec, and the elections which turned on the Conscription act showed that the majority of the people of Canada believed in the measure.

Does it matter now that there was some rioting in Montreal and Quebec City? They were the ebullitions of crowds led astray by a few fanatics. The upshot of the whole business was that in the end all parts of the country ac-

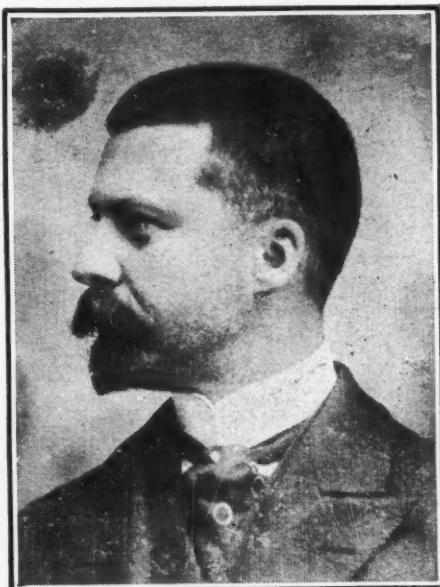
cepted conscription as a matter of law to be obeyed, and registration thereafter proceeded quietly enough. To this day the extremists on both sides, however, argue that Quebec and Ontario—and to the French Canadian most of English-speaking Canada is judged by Ontario—are bitterly hostile and unfair to each other. Each will prove that the other failed in its duty, especially in the matter of voluntary enlistments. Here it is but fair to say that in the earlier days of the war the English native born was almost as slow as his fellows of Quebec to grasp the importance of the struggle in its connection with Canada. That, however, is a controversy which will be a topic for heated argument by future generations.

BASIS OF HARMONY

To politicians who live in memories of the days when race could be set against race it is incredible that there should be evidences of a rapprochement between French and English speaking Canadians on the question of imperial relations. But one of the evolutions of the war has been a keen self-analysis of Canada's status in the empire. It has brought with it some changes that a few years ago would have been deemed impossible. English-speaking politicians and their newspaper supporters no longer see any disloyalty in plainly worded contentions that Canada is absolutely free to decide her own course in all international matters that affect her. That is the secret of Canada's insistence upon separate representation at the Peace Conference, and the right to sign the Treaty of Versailles, and to have a distinct entity in the League of Nations. Few Canadians are shocked at the suggestion that their representatives in the League might on occasion vote against Britain in a matter involving war as an alternative to arbitration. There is no measurable body of opinion that would go as far as Bourassa and his Nationalist agitators, who clamored for a complete separation from the empire; but there is no inseparable gulf between the best French-Canadian opinion and that of the English-speaking contenders that her part in the war and the Peace Treaty has en-

abled Canada to attain a new status as one of a group of British nations. The Toronto Star recently said:

There is a wing of the Liberal Party who have been strong for autonomy, and are now reluctant to admit that what Laurier demanded Borden [the present



HENRI BOURASSA
Leader of Canadian Nationalists
(Photo B. & C., Ltd.)

Premier] has secured. They think there must be something wrong somewhere with what has been accomplished without their aid. There is another class who equally strive to wave aside the new status Canada has won. They are the advocates of centralization, who do not want to abandon the dream that some form of imperial federation can be worked out and the empire ruled from one central seat of authority in London. Both these classes, so very different in their purposes, will, however, have to accept a new order of things.

The Star is a Liberal paper, though it supported Union Government and the Construction bill. It reads the imperialists out of court in the mild words just quoted. Bourassa, the advocate of a separate Canadian Republic, at about the same time was declaring in *Le Devoir* that

the triumph of British imperialism would

be, for Christian faith and civilization and the repose of the world, a peril as redoubtable as would have been the victory of German imperialism, the realization of the dreams of Pan-Slavism, or the permanence of the conquests of Islam: as disastrous as would be the triumph of international Bolshevism or the invasion of the Asiatics.

Such language naturally arouses the ire of The Orange Sentinel of Toronto, which sees in it evidences of its view that nothing would better please the French Nationalists and the Roman hierarchy than to see the British Empire fall to pieces.

The discussion at this writing (February, 1920) is proceeding at a lively pace throughout the country, chiefly in the columns of the newspapers. It originated in its present form with two statements, one that it is proposed to hold an imperial conference in London to discuss the constitutional relations of Britain and the nations of the empire; the other that under no conditions will Canada consent to the abandonment of her place in the League of Nations.

FRENCH-CANADIAN VIEW

It has been left to a French-Canadian newspaper, however, to give one of the clearest expositions of what is undoubtedly the view of the majority of Canadians in regard to imperial connection. *Le Soleil*, discussing a speech by the Hon. H. H. Asquith in the Paisley by-election campaign, in which the British statesman urged that the colonies of the empire remain as they are, that they be consulted in matters affecting them, but not placed in an imperial council, approved that viewpoint and proceeded:

We have always understood that the imperial bond was more moral than material, based on sympathy rather than antipathy, kept up by generosity rather than maintained by force and trickery. We prefer it that way, and in our humble opinion it is in that way that the Dominions beyond the seas will be more than ever tightly bound to the mother land. If the British Empire is to guard its power, it will not meddle with the affairs of the Government of the colonies, for that is likely to dislocate something and break the tie that has hitherto bound together so many people of different mentality, of varied tongues and often of opposing aspirations.

Nothing is impossible in the realm of Canadian politics if the history of the last few years is to be accepted as a criterion, and there have been more fantastic dreams than that the very question of imperialism, which has played so large a part in keeping the French and the English speaking Canadian from appreciating one another, may bring them together on a platform acceptable to both. That will not come about without a struggle on the part of the old guard, the imperialists who want more and not less of Downing Street influence in Canadian affairs. They may find ammunition in the attack that the lower tariff advocates in the House of Commons are planning to make in favor of freer trade with the United States and an extension of the preference to Great Britain until free trade with that country is gradually established.

PROGRESS IN QUEBEC PROVINCE

It is sometimes charged against Quebec that it progresses very slowly in a material sense, compared with other provinces. The war has, however, stimulated an advancement that for the previous decade had been quite marked. The habitant is essentially an agriculturist. His response to the appeal for greater food production proves it. In 1914 there were some 4,800,000 acres under cultivation in Quebec Province and agricultural products were valued at \$99,000,000. The figures for 1918 were 13,292,000 acres and \$273,000,000 in value of products, a war record that the people of Quebec say was not equaled by any other province.

The *Toronto World*, in combating the idea that the rural political revolution had left Quebec untouched, recently said:

Though Quebec has no counterpart to United Farmers of Ontario militancy, it is much further ahead than is generally supposed. There are nearly 800 farmers' co-operative societies in the province, and *Le Comptoir Co-Operatif* of Montreal, a sort of clearing house for their business, is increasing its turnover at a rapidly accelerating speed. The young farm women are also organizing strongly. It will be Quebec next.

La Patrie, a widely read French-Canadian newspaper, discussing the farmers'



A FAMILY GROUP OF FRENCH CANADIANS
(Photo B. & C., Ltd.)

movement in the other provinces, is of opinion that the agricultural class of Quebec will be found as "well balanced" as the workingmen, who "have shown a moderation which has appreciably helped to dissipate the uneasiness from which the national industry has suffered." La Patrie holds that it would be no matter of surprise if the agriculturists of the province "acted as a counterbalance to the extremists, and deviated the farmers' political organizations of other provinces from ways that lead to danger."

CONFLICTING VIEWS

Certain journals and politicians will still continue to make much of any suggestion from French-Canadian sources that Quebec has grievances that can only be righted by such plans as that proposed by Wilfrid Gascon in a communication to *Le Canada*, namely, independence within the "limits of the territory which was the cradle of the race." The method he advocates in a plebiscite under the principle of self-determination. Others see confirmation of what they believe to be the true condition of affairs in gather-

ings such as that held at Aylmer, Quebec, early this year, a bilingual educational conference called by the Government of the province. French Canadians, Irish Catholics and Scotch and English Protestants spoke from the same platform. Unity in the national sense and tolerance in matters of religion and education were the burden of their addresses. These observers point also to the eulogies of the French Canadian and other soldiers delivered in the Legislature of Quebec on the occasion of the debates as to the aid to be given to such of the returned men as desire to become farmers. Finally they ask if it is conceivable that the majority of French Canadians would favor any other method of government or connection than those under which they live. If, for instance, they become subjects of any other country as a separate State or province, would they still be entitled to the constitutional representation in Parliament, 65 members that cannot legally be lowered; to the right of dual language in speech and in printed word in all Parliamentary debates and Government documents; to

noninterference with their provincial school system and its religious lessons in their own faith?

English-speaking Canada has itself passed through too many phases of political agitation, in which one side has taunted the other with disloyalty, to warrant the throwing of stones at Quebec, and it is not yet done with them. One Toronto weekly newspaper of high standing thus advertised an article on the farmers' movement:

How the advanced wing of the farmers' party is advancing a mile a day toward the United States border, singing as they go:

"We don't give a d—
If we land with Uncle Sam."

QUEBEC'S ESSENTIAL LOYALTY

Quebec is bearing without a murmur her share of the heavy war burdens that Canada must meet for a long time to come. She is often misunderstood in the Dominion as she often misunderstands the other provinces. She nevertheless remains an essential and integral part of the country her people are helping to erect into a strong and progressive nation. It is not certain that the Nationalist movement has passed beyond the stage where it may again be a source of irritation and anxiety; the majority of Canadians of both races, however, pre-

fer to regard that movement as without real life, an excrescence that will eventually be removed from the body politic. They turn for inspiration, as they have often done of late, to the open letter written from the trenches by Captain Talbot M. Papineau, winner of the Military Cross and other decorations, to Henri Bourassa at a time when the Nationalist leader was conducting his most vigorous campaign against Canada's effort in the war. Papineau, a descendant of one of the leaders of that name in the rebellion of 1837, having expressed his love for the French language and his determination to remain a French Canadian, proceeded thus:

Can a nation's pride or patriotism be built upon the blood and suffering of others, or upon the wealth garnered from the coffers of those who, in anguish and with blood sweat, are fighting the battles of freedom? If we accept our liberties, our national life from the hands of the English soldiers, if without sacrifices of our own we profit by the sacrifices of the English citizens, can we hope to become a nation ourselves? How could we ever acquire that soul or create that pride without which a nation is a dead thing and doomed to speedy decay and disappearance? If you were truly a Nationalist—if you loved our great country and without smallness longed to see her become the home of a good and united people—surely you would have recognized this as her moment of travail and tribulation.

Life Conditions in England

THE January number of *The London Labor Gazette* showed that the general level of living cost, including rent, clothing, fuel, light, and food, was 125 per cent. higher than that prevailing in July, 1914. Food alone stood at 136 per cent. above pre-war prices. Another great problem was that of housing. The scarcity of houses throughout the United Kingdom has long been for the Government a matter of serious concern. It was stated by Lord Astor, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health, on

Jan. 8, that as a result of a review of the situation the original estimate of 500,000 houses, required to shelter the population, had been increased to 800,000. The Director General of National Housing announced at this time that 20,000 houses were actually in course of construction.

Plans for 85,000 had been submitted, 65,000 had been approved, and contracts for the building of some 100,000 were to be entered into by the local authorities.

Poland's War With Red Russia

Soviet's Last Opponent on the Baltic Lays Down Peace Terms and Defeats Bolshevik Forces

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

FOLLOWING closely on the conclusion of peace between Bolshevik Russia and Estonia, the Polish Government received from Moscow an official overture of a cessation of hostilities pending ultimate agreement on special questions involved. The complete text of the Soviet offer, as given out in Moscow on Feb. 4, and published in the German-Swiss papers early in March, is as follows:

To Pilsudski, the Head of the State: The Council of People's Commissioners of the Russian Soviet Republic to the Government and the People of Poland:

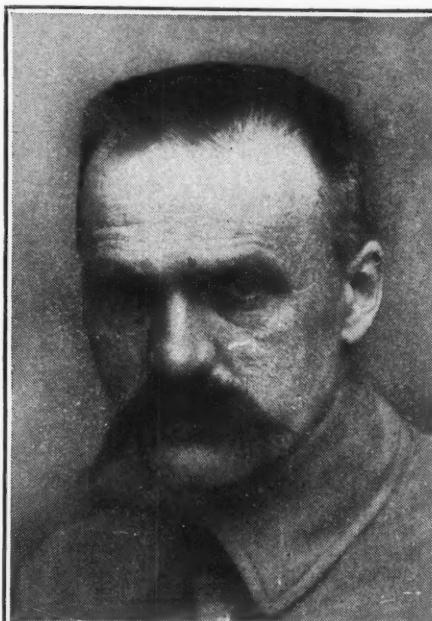
Declaration: It lies entirely with Poland to decide whether it will come to a conclusion which may have the most fatal effect upon the life of the nation for years. All indications are that the extreme imperialists of the Entente, the followers or agents of Churchill or Clemenceau, are at this moment attempting to involve Poland in a harebrained and criminal war against Soviet Russia.

Conscious of its great responsibility to the laboring masses of Russia and inspired by the most earnest desire to avoid new and unlimited sacrifices, as well as the misfortune and the ruin that threaten both our peoples, the Council of People's Commissioners makes the following statement:

1. The policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is not guided by accidental and temporary military or diplomatic combinations, but by the inalienable right of every nation to determine its own destiny. The Council has recognized, and continues to recognize, unconditionally and unprovisionally the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland. From the first day of its existence the Polish State was based upon this recognition.

2. The Council of People's Commissioners declares anew, as it did at the time of the last peace proposal made to Poland on Dec. 22, by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, that the Red troops will not cross the present front lines in White Russia, which run through the following points: Drissa, Disna, Polock, Borysof, Paricze and the railroad stations of Plycz, Bialakore and Vicze.

As far as the Ukrainian front is concerned, the Council of People's Commissioners declares, in its own name and in the name of the Provisional Government of the Ukraine, that the Soviet troops of the Federative Republic will undertake no military operations west of the present front line, which runs through the



GENERAL PILSUDSKI
President of Poland and Chief Commander
of Polish Armies
(Underwood & Underwood)

neighborhood of Udnof, Pilava, Deratznia and the City of Bar.

3. The Council of People's Commissioners declares that the Soviet Republic has concluded no agreement or treaty with Germany or with any other country that is aimed directly or indirectly against Poland, and that the nature of the spirit of the international policy of the Soviet power precludes the slightest desire to take advantage of possible conflicts between Poland and Germany or any other country for the purpose of encroaching upon the independence of Poland and the inviolability of its territory.

4. The Council of People's Commis-



SCENE OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL DRIVE OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST TROOPS
AGAINST THE POLISH ARMY

sioners finds that in so far as the interests of Poland and Russia are concerned there is no question, territorial, economic, or of any other nature, that cannot be settled peacefully by means of arbitration, concessions, or mutual agreement, as was done in the case of the negotiations with Estonia.

The Council of People's Commissioners has directed the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to obtain from the coming February session of the Central Executive Committee for Russia the formal confirmation of the above outlined basis of the policy of Soviet Russia toward Poland by the highest official body of the republic.

The Council of People's Commissioners, for its own part, believes that, through the present categorical declaration, it fulfills its duty regarding the peaceful interests of the Russian and Polish peoples. It entertains the confident hope that all pending questions between Russia and Poland will be settled through friendly agreements.

(Signed)

ULIANOV-LENIN, President of the Council of People's Commissioners.

TCHITCHERIN, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.

TROTZKY, Military and Naval Commissioner.

PILSUDSKI'S VIEWPOINT

In an interview given in Warsaw on Feb. 9, General Pilsudski, Polish Chief of State, affirmed his belief that, despite their peace offer, the Bolsheviks were contemplating a new offensive against the Polish front. They were, he said, strengthening their forces daily and preparing to attack. He conceded that this was out of keeping with the conciliatory tone of the peace note, but explained it as an alternative in case the peace offer to Poland was rejected. He intimated, however, that if such an attack occurred the Polish Army would be equal to the task imposed upon it. Poland needed peace, but would not be intimidated according to the method followed in the case of Estonia. As to the danger of the spread of the Bolshevik propaganda in case peace were made, he declared that the national sentiment of the country was so opposed to Bolshevism that there was little to fear on this score. One factor in the situation which Pilsudski was considering was the

enormous rise in prices in Estonia following the Dorpat peace, due to the immediate export of Estonian commodities to Soviet Russia.

Regarding the attitude of the allied Governments toward Poland's making peace, Lloyd George stated in Parliament on Feb. 19 that the question of peace or war was one that Poland must settle for herself. On the following day Pilsudski came out strongly in favor of making peace. His statement was in part as follows:

The moment to make peace with Russia has come, and it has come not only for Poland but for all the allied countries. Up to now no one has dared to tackle this immense problem. Only half measures have been attempted. Kolchak, Denikin and the rest have constituted a kind of ostrich's wing under which diplomacy has for long months been hiding its head. These half measures are useless and reactionary. It is impossible to revive old Russia by means of its former servants. One must find new methods. We must have courage to admit that a formidable change has come over Eastern Europe. The moment to have that courage has arrived, and we must set to work.

Poland proposes to the Allies to help them in the great task. We are not actuated by any ambition to play a great rôle, but only because, as Poland is the country most directly interested, it is right that she should take the initiative. We are therefore elaborating a plan which seeks to create a legal state of things in Eastern Europe. This plan will soon be submitted to the allied powers. Perhaps it will not be perfect in all its details. Some of its clauses will need to be discussed, but in any case our plan can be considered as a basis for the final settlement.

The Polish plan was not revealed, but it became known at this time that a Polish Peace Commission had been appointed, which was divided into three sections—military, financial and political-territorial. The Military Sub-Commission had for its task the fixing of the clauses of an armistice; the financial group was to fix the proportionate rights of Poland in the gold reserves of the former empire, and the political group was to establish the Polish territorial claims, and to draw up provisions devised to protect the interests of Poland's weaker neighbors. These commissions were holding secret sessions.

POLISH PEACE TERMS

The results of this activity became apparent on Feb. 24, when the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Diet framed a note to the Bolshevik Government containing a statement of the terms on which Warsaw would undertake peace negotiations with Moscow. The five following conditions were laid down:

1. Poland asks Russia to give up territories to the west of the frontier of 1772 so that the inhabitants may freely choose their political future.
2. Russia must recognize the independence of the Baltic countries and leave them free to conclude with Poland such treaties as they may decide upon.
3. Poland states she will not continue to concern herself with the Ukraine provided a stable government is organized there.
4. Poland will demand that the Bolshevik Government give sufficient guarantees against Bolshevik propaganda efforts in Polish territory.
5. Poland will demand from Russia a war indemnity for devastations committed by the Russian Army in Poland as well as for damages done to Polish citizens in Russia under the Bolshevik régime.

Various details still remained to be settled, and the pourparlers with Moscow continued. The Polish Government on March 3 proposed to the Soviet authorities that they should begin direct peace negotiations without the conclusion of an armistice. The ground for this demand was the Polish belief that if an armistice were agreed to the Bolsheviks would take advantage of the cessation of hostilities to concentrate troops and reinforce various weak points along the front. It was planned to submit the final peace proposals by wire to the French and British Premiers before they were transmitted formally to the Bolshevik Government.

On learning of Poland's intention to embody in her peace terms insistence on control of territories west of her old frontier, as it existed prior to the first Polish partition of 1772, the Committee of Ambassadors in Paris on Feb. 28 drafted a note to Poland calling the attention of the Warsaw Government to the fact that Poland's eastern boundary, as laid down by the Supreme Council on Nov. 25, 1919, lay far to the westward of the districts which Poland had occupied by her armed forces, and to which

she was now endeavoring to establish a permanent claim. The note also protested against the proposed holding of elections for members of the Warsaw Diet in districts east of the line laid down by the council.

BOLSHEVIKI OPEN OFFENSIVE

A general conference of Baltic States called to consider jointly the various peace offers made by the Soviet Government had been scheduled to open in Warsaw on March 8. Delegates were to be sent by Finland, Latvia and Rumania. In a statement signed by the Polish State officials the intention of pursuing the peace negotiations to their ultimate conclusion was reiterated. At this juncture, however, a new aspect of the situation arose with the sudden beginning of a strong offensive by the Bolsheviks on both sides of the Pripet region. The first blow, coinciding with a new attack on Finland, was struck about March 6. The Polish forces were said to be repulsing the enemy and inflicting heavy losses.

In commenting on this new onslaught President Pilsudski said:

Poland wants peace and is willing to discuss it, but we refuse to be forced to that discussion by threats of the Red Army.

At first I thought the Bolsheviks would negotiate with us peacefully, without arrière pensée. I wished to enter the discussion with the same frankness and had no intention of taking advantage of our favorable position to support our arguments by force of arms. I did not want peace imposed by our guns and bayonets.

Unfortunately, what I see of the Bolsheviks gives me the impression that they do not want a really pacific peace, but to force peace from us by the threat of their fists, as they did with the Estonians. I am not a man to be treated like that. I, too, can talk strongly and can be enraged if there is an attempt to impose upon me by threats. I am convinced that Poland shares my feelings. We will not make peace under pressure of threats. We want either a pacific peace freely accepted or war.

I am aware that the Bolsheviks are concentrating large forces on our front. But they are mistaken if they think to frighten us thus and offer us a sort of ultimatum. Our army is ready and I have full confidence in it. If it is threatened it can threaten in turn.

POLES TRIUMPH ON PRIPET

News of a complete Polish victory in the region attacked reached Warsaw on March 8. Polish forces under Colonel Sikorski had attacked Bolshevik troops in the vicinity of Mozir and Kolenkovitz, southeast of Minsk, the day before, and captured these two important railway junctions with much war material, including several armored boats on the Pripet River. One thousand Red soldiers and many officers had been taken prisoner. In an official communiqué it was stated that the attack was made in order to prevent further hostile operations by the Soviet Army, and also to disperse Bolshevik troops which had been concentrated behind the enemy lines. The official communiqué said:

This victory is a worthy answer to the Bolshevik policy of suing for peace and at the same time continuing attacks along the front.

Warsaw advices indicated that not since the capture of Lemberg a year ago have the Polish people been so elated as they were on receiving the news from Pripet. The press jubilantly printed the opinion of military experts that by cutting the Mozir-Kolenkovitz line, and thus separating White Ruthenia from Moscow, the Red forces had been dealt a decisive blow. The Polish exultation was increased by new victories won by the Polish troops in repelling attacks begun by the Bolsheviks north of Mozir on March 10; eight guns, an artillery park and a great number of prisoners were taken. The forces of the Red Army were retreating in disorder beyond the Dnieper, the right bank of which was in possession of the Poles.

KERENSKY'S REVELATIONS

At a lecture delivered in Paris on March 11 Kerensky, the former Russian Premier, made sensational revelations regarding secret agreements arranged between France, England and the Czar during the last days of the Romanov régime. France had demanded absolute ownership of the Sarre Valley and an indefinite military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, and these demands had been acceded to, according to Kerensky, by Lord Milner, acting for

England, and by the Czar. Milner also agreed to the Czar's demand for the whole of Poland, including the Austrian and Prussian sections, despite his previous promise to accord that country autonomy; but M. Doumer, the French negotiator, declared that he must first consult his Government. Before the French answer came to Russia, the Czar had fallen; but when it reached Kerensky, who was then in power, it proved to be affirmative.

This revelation caused great excitement among the Polish correspondents in Paris, who at once cabled verbatim reports to Warsaw. It was said in Paris that Kerensky had made these disclosures in retaliation for the Allies' unwillingness to agree to his idea for settling the Russian problem by a policy of "hands off."

Ignace Jan Paderewski, the former Polish Premier, whose fall from power is said to have been precipitated by German-Austrian intrigues working through M. Bilinski, the Polish Foreign Minister, and a former Austrian official,

has retired to private life in his little home overlooking Lake Geneva. Interviewed in Paris early in March, he was reluctant to talk of the strenuous period through which he had passed, but expressed high hopes of the future of his country. "I am certain that an era of peace and prosperity has begun for Poland," he said, "and that I have not labored in vain." He declared that he would give no more concert tours, but would devote himself purely to musical composition. He was then at work on the composition of a Polish national anthem.

The Polish Legation at Washington announced on March 1 that negotiations for floating the bonds of a private loan for \$50,000,000 to be raised in the United States for Poland had been concluded with the People's Industrial Trading Corporation of New York. No objections to the proposed loan had been made by the United States Government. The funds raised by this loan, the first to any of the States arising out of the war, were to be used by the Polish Government for purposes of reconstruction.

General Maurice on Lord Haldane

WRITING in The London Star, James Douglas says: "History will reverse the judgment of journalism with regard to three great English statesmen—Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey and Lord Haldane. Already the process is visible. There is an impalpable shifting of opinion. Revolution is in the air. The tempest of detraction is overpast. There is an uneasy silence that is a kind of remorse."

This judgment is confirmed by Major Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, who in reviewing Lord Haldane's new book, "Before the War," brings out strongly the point made by Mr. Douglas that the fate of the world trembled on a narrow margin of forty-eight hours and that "the organizer of victory who gave the world that margin was Lord Haldane." General Maurice says:

When, at Mr. Asquith's request, Lord Haldane, on Aug. 3, 1914, re-entered the

War Office, which he had left to become Lord Chancellor, to press the button and set in motion the machine he had created, that machine worked without the smallest hitch or friction, and by its means our Expeditionary Force was assembled on Aug. 19 just south of the French fortress of Maubeuge, ready to advance to Mons.

By its presence there in those numbers and at that time it foiled the first carefully prepared German plan of campaign, it saved Paris, and it saved the Channel ports. I will not say that had it not been where it was when it was Germany would have won the war, for I believe that the causes of Germany's defeat were far deeper, but, unquestionably, without it victory would only have been won at a cost far greater than that under which we are today groaning.

Such is our debt to the man, recognized and honored by all soldiers, from Lord Haig downward, who know the facts, as the greatest Secretary for War within memory, a debt which, to our shame, has been paid by ignorant abuse and venomous slander.

The Problem of Russia

Progress of the Soviet Drive for Trade Resumption and Peace With Other Nations—Attitude of the Allies

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE reaction following the announced intention of the Council of Premiers to resume trade relations with Soviet Russia through the Russian Co-operative Societies without official recognition of the Soviet Government was prolonged throughout February and March. Despite the fact that the representatives of these societies in Paris, after their first confident assertion that the plan was feasible, admitted that the Soviet Government had not lent its sanction to the project, the Government leaders of the two chief allies reiterated their intention to carry it through, and declared that a way would yet be found to make it possible. That both Lenin and Trotzky were eager to bring about such a resumption was stated by both in interviews with Lincoln Eyre, correspondent of The New York World. The attitude of Trotzky may be summarized from these interviews as follows:

We recognize our need for outside help in setting Russia on its feet industrially and economically. It is a tremendous enterprise that may take ten years to accomplish. But Russia is rich in natural resources. The people who help us first will be the first to profit. Foreign capitalists who invest their money in Russian enterprises or who supply us with required merchandise will receive material guarantees of adequate character.

But the condition of the agreement will be such as to prevent its being made a means to strangle us under the guise of helping to regenerate the Russian people. The view that Germany will be admitted "on the ground floor" is absurd. Russia cannot possibly expect economic assistance from Germany, in view of that country's economic instability, due to her defeat in war. It is obvious that we must look to the victorious nations, to Great Britain, or still better, to America, for machinery, agricultural tools and other imports, which Russia's economic renaissance demands. The very countries that are now trying to throttle us are the ones

who have most to gain in getting on a trading basis with us.

Lenin's comment was as follows:

If peace is a corollary of trade with us, the Allies cannot avoid it much longer. I know no reason why a Socialistic Commonwealth like ours cannot do business indefinitely with capitalistic countries. Of course, they will have to have business relations with the hated Bolsheviks—that is, the Soviet Government. This talk of reopening trade relations with Russia seems to us insincere, or at least obscure—a move in a game of chess rather than a frank, straightforward proposition that would be immediately grasped and acted upon. If the Supreme Council really means to lift the blockade, why does it not tell us of its intentions? The statesmen of the Entente and the United States do not seem to understand that Russia's present economic distress is simply part of the world's economic distress. Without Russia, Europe cannot get on her feet. In Russia we have wheat, flax, platinum, potash and many minerals of which the whole world stands in desperate need. The world must come to us for them in the end, Bolshevism or no Bolshevism. There are signs that this truth is now being realized. But Russia can be saved from utter ruin, and Europe also, only by quick action. And the Supreme Council is slow, very slow.

LLOYD GEORGE EXPLAINS

Some light was thrown upon the allied policy by Mr. Lloyd George's statements in Parliament on Feb. 11. Taking up point by point the various arguments for or against the decision reached by the Government he finally shaped a line of reasoning which may be summarized as follows:

1. The horrors of Bolshevism are admitted. It is true that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal. Bolshevism is not democracy, but rule by a privileged minority. The first "war on opinion" was begun by the Bolsheviks themselves when they dissolved the National Assembly.

2. But it has become perfectly clear that Bolshevism cannot be crushed by force of arms. The Allies were bound to give the anti-Bolshevist forces their chance to recover Russia, for it was the Allies who first called them into being, originally for the purpose of arresting the German advance into the grain area. But these forces have failed in their attempt to regain the country, not through any lack of assistance or equipment, but from causes of a fundamental nature.

3. Civil war might again be incited in the South and prolonged for many years to come; Russia could be devastated and left a blackened waste for another generation. But this would transform Bolshevism into a permanent militarism, which would spell danger for the rest of Europe. Furthermore, it would be difficult, because, for reasons not gone into, the volunteer army of Denikin, during its occupation of large areas of Southern Russia, has alienated the population as a whole.

4. An advancing ring of fire might be organized to encircle Soviet Russia and finally penetrate to its heart, through the combination of Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Rumania, Denikin's forces and the Japanese. But Finland's attitude is opposed to such an attempt; the Baltic States are making peace with the Bolshevik Government; Rumania is busy watching her Hungarian frontier; the Japanese would refuse to wage an aggressive war on Bolshevism. And if such gigantic armies were raised, who would pay them, who would equip them and maintain them? France and Italy will not; America will not, and what British statesman would accept the responsibility of putting such a burden upon the taxpayers of Great Britain?

PEACE AND TRADE

5. To the suggestion that peace should be made with the Bolsheviks the only answer possible is this: Until assurances are received—assurance from observation and experience—that the Government in control of Russia has dropped its methods of militarism and is governing by civilized means, there is no civilized community in the world which will be prepared to make direct peace. Fur-

thermore, this Government's control of Ukraine and the Cossack territory has not yet been definitely established; it cannot yet show that it represents the whole of Russia.

6. What is the only course left? Europe cannot be restored without putting Russia into circulation—its natural wealth and resources. The attempt to restore Russia to sanity by force has failed. This attempt may succeed through the reopening of trade. Commerce has a sobering effect. The Russians are cold and hungry; they need machinery, plows, locomotives, cars, and the whole of Europe is short of what they can give in return for these necessities. Trade alone will bring an end to the ferocity, the rapine and the crudities of Bolshevism more surely than any other method. The withdrawal of Russia from the supplying markets of Europe is contributing to high prices, the high cost of living, to scarcity and hunger. Before the war Russia supplied one-fourth of the whole export wheat of the world—4,000,000 tons. Four-fifths of the flax grown in the world was produced in Russia. One-third of the imported butter used in Great Britain came directly or indirectly from Russia. The grain and flour staples, maize, barley, oats, totaled 9,000,000 tons. The figures are prodigious in every direction. The world needs these vast supplies. There are high prices in Britain, high prices in France, high prices in Italy, and there is stark hunger in Central Europe, while the corn bins of Russia, according to reliable information, are bulging with grain.

7. In conclusion the British Premier said:

I do not say that there is all this grain in Russia now. Nobody quite knows what the facts are. All I can say is that our reports are that there is grain available in Russia if you can get the necessary transport organized to get it out. Europe needs it; but you will not get it so long as contending armies roll across the borders. It is not a question of recognizing the Government. It is a question of dealing with the people who have got commodities to sell and to exchange for what we can give them. When people are hungry you cannot refuse to buy corn in

Egypt because there is a Pharaoh on the throne. The conditions in Europe are serious. Conditions of distrust, jealousy and strife are being used as a leverage by organized anarchy. * * * There is but one way—we must fight anarchy with abundance.

CO-OPERATIVES AS MEDITATORS

The method by which the renewal of Russian trade could be attained without recognition of the Soviet Government still remained something of a mystery. It appeared, however, from statements made by Sir Hamar Greenwood to the Supreme Economic Council in Paris that wireless messages were being exchanged with Moscow, and a delegation of "extra Russians" had left for that city by way of Copenhagen to initiate negotiations. The Moscow Co-operatives, furthermore, had asked that they should be allowed to come to France and England to discuss arrangements. To avoid the danger of Bolshevik propaganda it had been decided that the Co-operatives outside Russia should demand a list of those to be sent from Soviet Russia, and the Supreme Council would decide if those selected were acceptable.

Moscow announced on March 11 that such a delegation, to consist of Nozin, Rosovsky, Khintchuk, Litvinov and Krassin, had been named. Of these five Litvinov was *persona non grata* because of propaganda conducted by him while "Ambassador" of the Soviet Government in London. Krassin is one of the leading Bolsheviks of Moscow, the former representative of a German steamship line; the remaining three are acknowledged Bolsheviks, but little known abroad.

The Supreme Council on Feb. 24 had reiterated its decision to encourage commerce between Russia and the remainder of Europe, while still declining to renew diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government until it should have adopted civilized methods of procedure. In its essence this decision merely reaffirmed the council's resolution adopted in Paris on Jan. 16, but by this time the idea, which had formerly led to bitter attacks, was generally accepted as a quite natural development. The International Labor Bureau had decided to

send a delegation to Russia to study conditions there; but the council expressed its belief that supervision of this delegation should be under the League of Nations, in order to give the investigators greater authority.

The main points of the decision reached by the Council of Premiers on this date were as follows: Resumption of trade relations with Russia, with important reservations; the Soviet Government would be asked to abandon propaganda and to recognize existing loans; the Allies, on their part, would not encourage border States to make further war on the Bolsheviks. The British and French Premiers agreed fully on this decision. Resumption of political relations was not pressed, so that the real difficulty of the Russian situation—recognition of the Soviet Republic—remained unsolved.

NEGOTIATIONS AT COPENHAGEN

Meanwhile it was announced by Harald Scavenius, Danish Minister at Petrograd, that James O'Grady, British representative at Copenhagen, who had been conducting negotiations for an exchange of prisoners with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative, had been authorized to present to the Soviet Government through Litvinov the bases of Great Britain's proposals. The principles laid down, according to a dispatch from the correspondent of the Buenos Aires newspaper, *La Nacion*, dated Feb. 27, were as follows:

1. Tacit recognition of the Maximalist political régime.
2. Noninterference by Great Britain with respect to the internal condition of those countries separated from former Russian rule on the west, namely Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Poland.
3. Noninterference by Great Britain in the affairs of Siberia.
4. Demobilization of the Red Army.
5. A promise by the Bolsheviks to recognize the independence of the southern republics, especially Georgia.
6. Noninterference by Russia with the territories on the frontiers of Georgia and Persia.
7. Payment in gold for goods exported or imported between Russia and Great Britain.
8. A régime of commercial equality for

Russia and Great Britain in the autonomous States on the western front.

The *Nacion* correspondent stated that the Moscow Government was disposed to accept several of these points, but that it stood firm against the fourth and sixth points.

SOVIET MILITARY TRIUMPHS

During these pourparlers the Soviet Government's military effort to dispose of its remaining enemies was unrelaxed. In the latter half of February and the first two weeks in March the anti-Bolshevist forces in North and South Russia met defeat after defeat. Archangel was captured on Feb. 20; the "White" authorities fled from the city, and the Russian troops remained behind and joined the Reds. The Government was taken over by the professional workmen through an appointed committee. Murmansk also, which had been the base of operations for the allied forces in 1919, was seized by the Reds on Feb. 23, following a revolution which broke out two days before. A message received by Maxim Litvinov at Copenhagen stated that the whole of North Russia had fallen into the hands of the Soviet authorities. The Bolshevik forces had stopped their advance on the Finno-Karelian front on condition that Finland open peace negotiations without delay.

Along the whole southern front, from Odessa to the Sea of Azov, and thence to the Caspian and Caucasus sectors, the Bolsheviks, despite some temporary reverses, drove the Denikin forces back at will. Rostov, in the ebb and flow of fighting, was taken by Denikin again on Feb. 20, only to be recaptured by the Reds soon thereafter. The forces of Denikin were demoralized and decimated by typhus; the exact whereabouts of his main force was for some time unknown, but it was reported from Moscow on March 1 that his army had been "trapped" in the Kuban district of the Caucasus. Advices received on March 11 indicated that he was still fighting, but with very indifferent success.

In Siberia the spread of Bolshevism went on unchecked; Irkutsk, the former Kolchak capital, according to Moscow statements, had been entered by Bolsheviks

regulars early in March, but Vladivostok still remained in the hands of the Socialist revolutionaries. In the latter city the new régime showed marked friendliness to the American military authorities, to whose policy of noninterference it attributed in part the success of the new movement.

Details of the capture and execution of Admiral Kolchak, who was put to death by the revolutionists at Irkutsk on Feb. 7, became available through a telegram received by Rear Admiral Smirnov, Minister of Marine in the Kolchak Cabinet, shortly after his arrival at Peking. The story of the dramatic end of Kolchak's career is as follows:

HOW KOLCHAK WAS EXECUTED

General Janin, commander of Czech forces in Siberia, was under orders from the Allies to protect Kolchak after the collapse of his Government and to convey him to a place of safety. When Kolchak, after the fall of Tomsk, reached Nizhni Udinsk, northwest of Irkutsk, he at once placed himself under the protection of the Czechs stationed there. With him were forty-eight officers and civilians, including former Premier Pepeliayev. As immediate withdrawal from this district was imperative, the Kolchak party was placed in a car attached to a train of Czech soldiers going toward Irkutsk.

When the train reached Chermenkovo, eighty miles northwest of Irkutsk, coal miners who had been informed of Kolchak's presence on board demanded his surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to cut off all coal supplies from trains on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Kolchak offered to surrender if the miners would permit his followers to proceed in safety, but the latter united in refusing to take advantage of their leader's sacrifice.

The train, with Kolchak still on board, proceeded to Irkutsk, but upon its arrival there pressure was brought to bear on the Czechs, who, fearing that they would be annihilated, finally withdrew their guard and permitted the Socialist revolutionaries to seize Kolchak. At this time there were 5,000 Czechs and a battalion of Japanese soldiers at Irkutsk. After Kolchak had been held prisoner at Irkutsk

for a short time the Socialist revolutionaries learned that an attempt would be made to free the captive. They decided upon his execution, therefore, and he was put to death, former Premier Pepe-liayev facing the firing squad with him. These details were sent to Admiral Smirnov by members of the Kolchak party who had escaped from Irkutsk and reached Chita, 400 miles further east.

Anti-Bolshevist elements numbering more than 35,000 reached Trans-Baikalia early in March, and the problem of feeding, clothing and giving medical care to the former soldiers of Kolchak after their terrible march was taxing all the resources of this district. Stores belonging to the late Omsk Government kept in Manchuria were hurried to Chita to meet the emergency. It was stated at this time that the Soviet forces, strengthened by the huge stores captured at Omsk and points east of that city, were threatening the whole Trans-Baikal region.

SEMENOV LOSING GROUND

General Semenov, in control of the anti-Soviet troops in Eastern Siberia, was reported at this time to have lost the support of the Buriat tribesmen, upon which he had always counted. Colonel C. H. Morrow, commander of the 27th United States Infantry, stated that Semenov's Mongols and Buriats had committed nameless atrocities, and that he had also collected evidence of terrible excesses perpetrated by General Semenov's regular force. All races in this district, including the Japanese, had repudiated him. As for General Horvath, in charge of the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Socialist Conference at Harbin, Manchuria, issued a note disavowing his administration, and recognizing the authority of the Zemstvo Government of Vladivostok pending reunion of all Russian dominions under the Government of Moscow. The Chinese authorities had resisted this decree, and a clash was said to be inevitable. The Cossack forces at B'agovestchensk had surrendered this city to the Soviet forces, the Japanese forces there remaining neutral.

While thus consolidating its military

successes upon all fronts, the Lenin Government continued its campaign for peace both at home and abroad. In an apparent effort to make its program agreeable to the middle-class peasantry of the Ukraine, which had been violently opposed to the Bolshevik methods, the Soviet Central Executive Committee in Moscow adopted a new agrarian policy for the Ukraine, which was printed in the Kiev Communist paper *Borotba*, and quoted in part as follows by the Berlin *Freiheit* of Feb. 13:

In view of the fact that the peasantry forms the majority in the Ukraine to a still greater degree than in Russia, it is the task of the Soviet Government in the Ukraine to win the confidence not only of the country proletariat, but also of the broad masses of the middle-class farm owners. In working out the policy of food supply (the furnishing of grain through the State for maximum prices, compulsory distribution) great care must be taken in putting it into effect, and it must harmonize with the psychology and sentiments of the Ukrainian peasantry. The objects and tasks of agrarian policy in the Ukraine should be the following:

1. Complete liquidation of the system of big land holding restored by Denikin, accompanied by the giving of the land to the landless and those short of land.
2. Communist administrations must only be set up in case of necessity when the vital interests of the local peasantry are to be taken into account.
3. In matters concerning the uniting of the peasants in communes, artels, &c., there must be strictly carried out that policy of the party which in this respect tolerates no compulsion, and leaves these things exclusively to the untrammeled decision of the peasants, severely punishing any attempts to apply the principle of compulsion in these cases.

SOVIET PEACE DRIVE

With Estonia eliminated from the circle of its enemies by the Dorpat peace, with Poland suspending military operations and considering the Soviet overtures of peace with the tacit approval of the Allies, and with Lithuania and Rumania consenting to preliminary negotiations, the Bolshevik Government turned its peace efforts still further abroad.

Official overtures of peace were sent to all the principal allied nations, including Japan, on Feb. 27, and similar overtures were wirelessed to the United

States Government. Each offer was carefully couched to make its special appeal to the nation addressed. For the small, weak Baltic States newly risen from Russia's ruin there was held out the recognition of independence, frontier delimitation on racial lines and cessation of hostilities to permit of rebuilding the shattered national life. To England were offered huge stocks of wheat, flax and hides at low prices. France was promised that the Soviets would assume payment of 14,000,000,000 francs of the bonds issued under the Czar's rule. Japan was assured that the revolutionary propaganda threatening to plunge her into chaos would be stopped; she was also offered a "sphere of influence" in Manchuria. Germany was allured by a promise of trade co-operation and free access to sorely needed raw materials; to America was held out the bait of rich concessions to add new billions to her national wealth.

PEACE OFFER TO AMERICA

It subsequently appeared that two peace proposals had been sent to the Washington Government, only one of which had been received. State Department officials announced that no cognizance of it would be taken, and that it had been reforwarded back to Nelson Morris, the American Minister at Stockholm. The text of this offer, which was not given out by the State Department, was sent to The New York American by its Berlin correspondent, Karl H. von Wiegand. The text, as given, was as follows:

Moscow, Feb. 24.
State Department, Washington, D. C.:

The victorious advance of the valiant Soviet army in Siberia and the universal, popular movement against the counter-revolution and against foreign invasion which has spread with irresistible force throughout Eastern Siberia, have brought into immediate proximity the question of re-establishing connection between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

Reports that have reached us from our representative, Mr. Martens, show with clearness that American commerce and industry are able to help in a very large measure in the great work of the reconstruction of Russia's economics; that the United States can play a gigantic rôle in the realization of this problem, and that numerous prominent representatives of the

American business world are quite willing to take an active part in this work.

The more the trials of civil war that Russia has gone through are retreating into the past, the more will all the forces of the Russian people concentrate upon the fundamental aim of reconstructing the country, and American production, wealth and enterprise can be among the greatest assets in helping us to attain our purpose.

It can be affirmed decidedly that the connection between Soviet Russia and America will be of the greatest use to both parties, and that both will reap from it the largest benefit.

Having no intention whatever of interfering with the internal affairs of America, and having for its sole aim peace and trade, the Russian Soviet Government is desirous of beginning without delay peace negotiations with the American Government.

On Dec. 5 and 7 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets solemnly proposed to all Governments of the allied and associated powers, and to each of them separately, to commence negotiations with the view of concluding peace.

Once more this proposal is made, and we ask the Government of the United States of America to inform us of its wishes with respect of a place and time for peace negotiations between the two countries.

TCHITCHERIN,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

The second offer, which the State Department declared it had not received, was stated on Feb. 28 to have contained promises of the re-establishment of a Government of democratic principles, and the assumption of 60 per cent. of the Russian national debt, with the payment of accrued interest.

AGGRESSIVE POLICY DENIED

Commenting on the Soviet peace terms, both Lenin and Trotzky, in the interviews accorded Lincoln Eyre, denied that Soviet Russia was of a militaristic tendency, and that it had no idea of armed aggression upon any other nation. By dint of stupendous efforts, said Trotzky, a peace-loving population of workers and peasants had been transformed into the strongest army now existing in Europe. No other State, he declared, could have done what Russia, bankrupt, bleeding and starved as she has been for the last four years, had successfully accomplished. Neither England nor France could assemble today an army of the strength and spirit of that of Bolshevik

Russia, and it was the consciousness of this military impotency which had dictated the allied policy of aiding the border States to wage war for them vicariously. "But the defeats our proletarian fighting men have inflicted have had a salutary effect," he added. "Already all the Baltic States are conferring with our emissaries, with a view to peace, which has now become merely a matter of time."

The Red Army, Trotzky declared, was "the most anti-militaristic body in the world." Nine-tenths of its members were workmen and peasants, and pacifists all. The other tenth were soldiers and officers who had formerly served under the Czar. Immediate demobilization would be carried out as soon as hostilities ceased. "Militarism, striking as it does at the very roots of Communism, cannot possibly exist in Soviet Russia, the only truly pacific country in the world."

Lenin, on his part, declared that the only danger of military aggression came not from Soviet Russia, but from Poland; even Foch, however, could not give the Poles victory against the Red Army, which had become invincible. The Soviet Army had triumphed on every front, and peace was coming speedily with all. [An account of the Polish successes won against the Bolshevik forces early in March will be found in the article on Poland.]

CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR

Russia's internal situation was described by Lenin in this interview as "critical, but hopeful." The cities, he said, would be sufficiently supplied by Spring to save them from famine. The fuel crisis was improving. In this connection he said:

The reconstruction period is under way, thanks to the Red Army's stupendous performances. Now parts of that army are transformed into armies of labor, an extraordinary phenomenon only possible in a country struggling toward a high ideal. Certainly it could not be done in capitalistic countries. We have sacrificed everything to victory over our armed antagonists in the past; and now we shall turn all our strength to economic

rehabilitation. It will take years, but we shall win out in the end.

These "armies of labor" referred to by Lenin were discussed by Trotzky, Minister of War, in his address before the Third Russian Congress, held in Moscow on Jan. 25. His explanation was in part as follows:

Many in the army have already accomplished their military task, but they cannot be demobilized as yet. Now that they have been released from their military duties, they must fight against economic ruin and against hunger, they must work to obtain fuel, peat and other heat-producing products, they must take part in building, in clearing the lines of snow, in repairing roads, building sheds, grinding flour, &c.

We have already organized several of these armies, and their tasks have been allotted to them. One army must obtain foodstuffs for the workmen of the districts in which it was formerly stationed, and it also will cut wood, cart it to the railways and repair engines. Another army will help in the laying down of railway lines for the transport of crude oil. A third labor army will be used for repairing agricultural implements and machines, and in the Spring will take part in the working of the land. * * *

The Russian proletariat already feels responsible for the welfare of its country and for its economic life. The hardships and poverty we are suffering are educating the workers of the proletariat. Under those conditions every workman and every workwoman is beginning to realize what economic life means to the country. This makes us confident that we will overcome our economic disorganization.

We shall succeed if qualified and trained workers take part in productive labor. Trade unions must register qualified workmen in the villages. Only in those localities where trade union methods are inadequate other methods must be introduced, in particular that of compulsion, because labor conscription gives the State the right to tell the qualified workman who is employed on some unimportant work in his village, "You are obliged to leave your present employment and go to Sormovo or Kolomna because there your work is required."

Labor conscription means that the qualified workmen who leave the army must take their workbooks and proceed to places where they are required, where their presence is necessary to the economic system of the country. We must feed these workmen and guarantee them the minimum food ration.

Why Kolchak Failed in Siberia

An Official Manifesto

THE following document throws light upon the causes of Admiral Kolchak's failure to get the support of the Siberian communities that came under his rule. It is a manifesto of the President of the Regional Duma of Siberia, issued at Vladivostok last September and embodying a detailed indictment of the dictatorial methods employed by the head of the Omsk Government. The translation here presented is that of *The Contemporary Review*:

In these days of fresh trials, when our Fatherland is face to face with the greatest perils, which threaten it from within and from without, I consider it my duty as the chief of the elected representatives of Siberia, to address to my country the following manifesto:

Nine months of dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak, who has, by sheer violence, overthrown the representative Government of the Directorate, have now brought Siberia to a state of complete disintegration and ruin.

The work of regenerating the Russian State, begun by the democracy with such enormous difficulties and sacrifices, has been criminally ruined by an irresponsible power.

The army, created by the volunteer movement and the enthusiasm of the population struggling for a people's Commonwealth, has been brought to the verge of complete destruction. The retreat beyond the Urals, the loss of Ekaterinburg, Ucheliabinsk, Kurgan, Turaen, opening to the Bolsheviks the road to the heart of Siberia, all these are the inevitable consequences of the disorganizing policy of the Omsk Government.

Out of touch with the population, peasants and workmen, not recognized by the active elements of the people and by the local executives, the Government of Kolchak proved unfit to accomplish the task of organizing the defense of the country, which it declared to be its foremost object.

Poorly clothed and lacking supplies, the army, not receiving fresh drafts from the rear, was compelled to take care of itself and to renew its forces by mobilizing the population in districts adjoining the front. Again, carts and corn were taken by force from that population which, on the other hand, had no confidence in the Government. The General Headquarters, separated from the front by 1,000 versts, gave no assistance to the army, and at

the same time, through its orders and instructions, created fatal differences in the High Command, paralyzed the work of the best commanding Generals, and sowed among the soldiers mistrust in their officers.

This disintegration of the army simply reflected the general disorganization in the rear.

In spite of the proclamation of a state of war and a state of siege, in spite of severe repressive measures and capital punishment, the irresponsible power could not establish the necessary civil order; on the contrary, it furthered civil war by destroying the order which existed before.

Thanks to the administration of Admiral Kolchak, not a trace is left of the enthusiasm with which the population greeted the fall of the Soviet power. The latent unrest, originating from the time of the proclamation of dictatorship, was steadily growing, and in many places took the shape of open mutiny. A wave of peasants' risings—those same peasants who a short time ago had chased the Bolsheviks out of the country—swept through Siberia and clearly revealed the deep discontent of the population. The Government took no steps to appease the country, except flogging and shooting and brutal violence exceeding that of the Bolsheviks. Always busy with intriguing and political moves, the Government did not show the least trace of statesmanship. It failed even to introduce unity into the administration and to curtail local satraps, every one of whom behaved as an absolute autocrat, making laws and ruling the population according to his discretion.

As a result of such administration the country is now on the verge of a catastrophe. The army and the country could not remain indifferent in the face of such a situation; their voice becomes louder and louder in calling the guilty by their names; they grow ever more definite and persistent in their efforts to find a way out.

Both town and rural councils have again and again warned the Government, pointing out that the salvation of the country will be found not in the dictatorship and in the bayonets, but in the creation of a power that will have the authority and confidence and recognition of the population. The best and most popular Generals, acting as the spokesmen of the army, have many times drawn the attention of Admiral Kolchak to the necessity of radical reforms in the rear in order to insure

the safety of the front. Louder and louder became the voices of local executives, of the various public bodies, of prominent public workers, of the representatives of the High Command, demanding the immediate convocation of a representative assembly and the creation of a responsible Government. And yet the Government of Admiral Kolchak remains deaf and blind and continues to lead the country to unavoidable ruin. It is now evident to all and sundry that this Government can not and must not remain in existence.

It is now too late to negotiate; the enemy is at the gates. For the sake of the Fatherland we must act. If the existing power does not realize its duty toward the country, this duty will have to be discharged by the population itself. As the President of a Siberian representative body I take upon myself the great honor and responsibility of inviting the population of Siberia to proceed immediately to create a body of representatives of the people.

So long as the Constituent Assembly of all Siberia is not convoked such a representative body must be created by the towns and rural councils elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and also by the local executives of the Cossack regions and various nationalities. I invite all these local executives to elect immediately representatives to form the Assembly of Siberia (Semsky Sobor).

The statutes of the Assembly, as well as the time and place of its opening meeting, will be published in due course.

The tasks which will be put before the Assembly are the following:

1. The creation of a provisional Government responsible to the Assembly.

2. The working out of statutes and regulations for the Constituent Assembly of all Siberia and the taking of steps for its prompt convocation.

3. The restoration of the legal foundations of civil order.

4. The handing over of the local administration to the municipal bodies.

5. The abolition of the laws and orders of the Omsk Government restricting the rights of the peasants to the use of the land, and the delegation of the rights and duties of the bodies who now regulate the use of the land to the local Government bodies.

6. The restoration of the freedom of the workmen's professional organizations; urgent legislation for protection of labor.

7. Abolition of the reactionary régime in the army; the increasing of its fighting capacity for the struggle for peace on the basis of a people's commonwealth.

8. An amnesty to the participants in peasants' risings who fought for the defense of the Constituent Assembly.

I publish the above manifesto, being deeply convinced that the country will find ways and means to enable its elected representatives to accomplish their sacred duty toward their Fatherland.

In a complete union of all elements of the population grouped round the Assembly of the land, hand in hand and ready for sacrifices, there and there only lies the way of salvation for the country, of the defense of the people's freedom and authority against all aggressors and usurpers.

J. JAXUSHEW,
President of the Siberian Regional Duma.

Vladivostok, Sept. 5, 1919.

Germans in Morocco

THE local press of Morocco City on Dec. 8 announced the approaching publication of a decree of the Sultan regulating the terms on which German subjects would be allowed to return and reside in the French Protectorate of Morocco and in Tangier. The terms of the decree provide that no German subject can take up residence in Morocco without the authorization of the Sultan's Government; that any German inheriting property in Morocco must dispose of it within one year to a non-German subject; that three months will be allowed

any German for the liquidation of his affairs in case authorization to reside is withdrawn; that punishment shall be meted out to transgressors of this decree, and that the French tribunals shall have authority to apply its terms. The decree was to be officially communicated to the international representatives at Tangier by the Sultan's representative, and the Pasha of Tangier was to have full authority to punish all infractions. The status of Germans in the Spanish zone remained doubtful, but it was believed in Morocco that the Spanish authorities would issue a similar decree.

The New Russian National Spirit

View of a Pro-Bolshevist Observer, Who Holds That All Classes Are Now Supporting the Lenin-Trotzky Regime

The growing tendency toward some kind of recognition of Soviet Russia, as instanced in the allied Premiers' action favoring a resumption of trade relations with that country, may be traced in part to the publication, during February and March, 1920, of numerous articles from correspondents praising the constructive efforts of the Bolshevik régime. CURRENT HISTORY, in pursuance of its policy of giving both sides of controversial questions, herewith presents one of the more significant articles of this nature from the pen of a British pro-Bolshevist correspondent of The Manchester Guardian, who had just returned from a tour of Central Russia:

Up to and even during the great war there was no Russian national spirit comparable in its intensity with the British or with the French. The Russians fought in the war, and fought well, but the peasant soldiers had only the foggiest notion of what it was all about, and the intelligentsia had always a curious aloofness in considering the struggle and its probable results. Some of them, particularly on the extreme right, were convinced that Russia was fighting on the wrong side.

This attitude of aloofness persists among those who have deserted the revolution and are fighting against it on the fringes of Russia and in the lobbies of the European capitals. They are more or less indifferent as to the source from which they get their help. It does not occur to them as strange that they, dining comfortably abroad, should clamor for the continued blockade of their own country. They agitate in Berlin as in London, and with better hopes. They know that if they do succeed in beating their own country they will find readier help * * * from Germany than from the Allies, if only because Germany is geographically nearer, and German reaction more closely depends on Russian reaction for its own existence. * * *

Central Russia alone is not buying foreigners to fight Russians, but is fighting consciously against foreign interference on the whole of its circumference. It can have no "orientation" toward any saviors, English or German, for all alike

are its enemies. Here, and here only, is Russia, as Russia, fighting for Russia, and it is to Moscow and not to the backwoods that we must look for the organizing force and for the spirit with which Russia will emerge from the hardships to which we are submitting her, as we temper a blade by submitting it to extremes of heat and cold.

This enormous political advantage is perfectly realized by the Bolsheviks, though they are perhaps less conscious of the fact, patent to all independent observers, that they are themselves being transformed into nationalists. The Bolshevik Stalin, an intimate friend of Lenin, thus explains their victories over Kolchak and Denikin: "The victory of Denikin or Kolchak would mean the loss of Russia's independence and the turning of Russia into a milch cow for English and French moneybags. In this sense the Government of Denikin and Kolchak is the most anti-popular, the most anti-national Government; in this sense the Soviet Government is the only popular, the only national Government (in the best meaning of that word) * * *" (Pravda, Dec. 28, 1919).

EFFECTS OF BLOCKADE

Then, again, the hardship caused by the continuance of the war and the blockade falls not on any political party alone, but on the whole population, and naturally, with every day, more and more of the population is drawn into the common struggle to end that hardship. This is not to be wondered at except by those

who swallow the fairy story that a small minority of hooligans and murderers have been able to keep up a successful fight all these long months against forces equipped far more efficiently than they. That fairy story does not fit the facts, which are obvious to the world, and it is high time that it should be discarded.

Take, for example, medicine and the care of the sick. Is it likely that the doctors and nurses of Russia, who well know that they obtain drugs for their patients only through the smugglers organized by the Soviet Government, should blame that Government instead of blaming the Allies and the White Russians for thus barbarously making the smuggling of medicaments necessary? Of course not. They well know that this Government does its best to help them. Many of them have said publicly that never before have they had such assistance from any Government. Few of them are Bolsheviks, but in the stress of national hardship the realization that they are given all the help they ask brings them into line in the effort to stem the diseases due to that hardship, and the gratitude of the doctor swallows up the opposition of the politician. Thus an active worker under the Commissariat of Health is the well-known Academician P. P. Lazarev, who while working in an X-ray institute which he has organized is at the same time engaged in devising means for circumventing the scientific blockade imposed by the interventionists. Another well-known doctor, working in the Commissariat, N. G. Freiburg, well known for his works on social hygiene, and an old States Councilor under the Czar, definitely refused the invitation of one of the anti-Bolshevist Governments, on the ground that under the Soviets he is being enabled to carry out the plans of a lifetime.

As with medicine so with every other activity in the country. Specialists in industry, in agriculture, not caring two pins about politics one way or the other, suffer from the blockade. It is to their personal interest that the Soviet Government should secure peace and a lifting of the blockade, and more and more of them, though for the most part not Bolsheviks, are doing their best to assist

it. Russia is at stake, and they can do no less.

FACTIONS WELDED BY SUFFERING

For the first time since 1914 there is in Russia a general concentration on the needs of the war comparable at all with the concentration of the English against the Germans. There are women police in the streets of Petrograd. In the Government offices women, wherever possible, take the places of men. Numbers of women have gone to the front to assist in any way possible in the defense of the country and the revolution. There is scarcely a branch of peaceful industry in the country not handicapped by the absence of men and women. I have been impressed by the voluntary overtime work with which Communists and great numbers of non-political men and women are trying to help these handicapped factories and railways. A colossal effort of this kind produces the conditions in which national spirit is born. We are welding together the Bolsheviks and their erstwhile opponents.

These erstwhile opponents justify their support of the Government in all kinds of ingenious ways. I have heard, for example, Russians of the old governing classes, now willingly working under the Soviet system, put forward the theory that people abroad are entirely wrong in believing that a monarchist or bourgeois reaction is inevitable in Russia, and will be brought in by Denikin. They say, on the contrary, that the discipline and strict order enforced by the Bolsheviks with increasing success constitute the reaction, and that when historians come to look back on these times they will date the period of reaction from Nov. 7, 1917, the day of the Soviet revolution. These Russians say that in a revolution the army grows weaker and weaker until reaction sets in, after which it grows stronger and stronger; and they point to the fact that Russia has a better army today than at any time under the régime of Lvov and Miliukov and Kerensky.

These Russians say that their cousins abroad fail to recognize this fact only because they are so cut off from Russia, and get their information exclusively from the romantic accounts of other

émigrés, who have to justify their emigration and harp on the events of two years ago as if they were the events of today. The true patriots, they say, do not desert Russia because she is hungry and cold, and, living abroad in London and Paris, urge that war and blockade shall make their country still hungrier and colder. They say that the main stream of Russian history flows through the revolution and will entirely disregard the little backwaters and accidental eddies of Russian opinion which look for help for Russia from outside Russia itself.

BOLSHEVISM RUSSIANIZED

But, no matter what may be the theories whereby they justify their action, the cardinal fact is that more and more of the old governing classes are throwing in their lot with the revolution. More and more clearly it is being realized that Russia is at stake as well as the revolution. The revolution is being militarized by being compelled to fight. It is being nationalized in the same way. More and more clearly it is felt that whatever may be the international hopes of the revolutionary leaders it is a Russian revolution, a revolution for which Russia is paying in blood and tears, a revolution which is a natural, inevitable, possibly a glorious phase in the development of Russia, a revolution which Russia, starving and equipped with nothing but a new-found indomitable spirit, is defending against the whole world.

I could mention innumerable symptoms of this half-conscious Russianization of the revolution. They have nationalized most things in Russia. We are now witnessing the final nationalization of the revolution itself. In the beginning the revolutionary leaders, fresh from European exile, insisted on the international character of the revolution. Now more and more the language of the revolution insists on its Russianness. More and more the allusions, the quotations, the freely scattered proverbs of the revolutionary orators are taken from Russian sources. Trotzky, the Jew; Lenin, the Russian nobleman; Kalinin, the peasant Premier of the big Executive Committee which is the Russian Parliament, all alike em-

phasize their Russianness in every speech they make. More than once I have heard Kalinin praised for this alone, that "he speaks to the peasants in their own language."

The designers of uniforms for the Red Army do not look to Germany or to England for their models, but have in mind the traditional Russian warriors of old time. I have seen Bolshevik political commissars with high-pointed khaki helmets fronted with a great red star and short-belted leather coats in form exactly modeled on the helmets and armor of the Bogatyrs, the Russian heroes of antiquity. Even the illustrated Calendar issued by the State Publishing House, for all its manifold references to internationalism, is as Russian as the illustrations of Bilibin in its colored pictures and its decorative initials. The symbolic pictures of "War," of peasants at work, of the revolution, all are rich with figures that would not be out of place in an art theatre presentation of "Boris Godunov" or "Tsar Fedor Ivanovitch."

CZARIST OFFICERS SERVE LENIN

These, it may be said, are small things, possibly accidents. Maybe, but there are other indications of a more solid character. The Whites say that the Reds compel officers of the old régime to serve in their armies under threat of all manner of horrible penalties. The first obvious deduction from these allegations is that indeed officers of the old army are serving in the army of the revolution. Of course they are, and, for the most part, they are serving loyally. Here and there one will desert, believing that the Whites will win. But, for the most part, they do not desert, even in the darkest and seemingly most hopeless moments of the struggle, as when Denikin was at Orel and Yudenitch at the gates of Petrograd. Two years ago their loyalty to the revolutionary army would have been unthinkable. Something has happened in the meantime, and that something is the birth of a new Russian army and the birth of a new Russian national spirit.

During the last two years these officers have seen a new army created out

of chaos and inspired by something that previous Russian armies have lacked. Few professional soldiers could stand by and watch that army forming in the direst moment of their country's difficulties without wanting to have a hand in it. Quite naturally the history of the French revolutionary army is repeating itself in Russia. From France also many good soldiers fled away and came back to fight their countrymen at Quiberon and elsewhere. But far more stayed with France for France's sake, were she revolutionary or reactionary, and came to realize the value of the revolutionary idea, no doubt detestable to some of them, in the new inventory of munitions of war.

So it is in Russia. Kamenev, an old Czarist officer, now Commander in Chief, referred to the flooding of the front with Communists as the chief reason of the army's regeneration after the panic caused by the British tanks. A hundred and twenty years ago, when Napoleon was busy planting his relations and friends on the thrones of Europe, he did not lay aside the idea of revolution which carried his soldiers from one victory to another. And with him young officers leapt swiftly to the top. A revolutionary army, a revolutionary period, offers chances to the soldier of genius such as he can never hope for in normal times. The career of Colonel Gettis, now commanding the western front, is in no way exceptional. A Colonel in the old army, he took part voluntarily in the organization of the new. When we took Archangel he was appointed to command the forces against us, which he speedily turned from a mob into an organized army, as our own soldiers have testified, being ready to attribute his work to the Germans. From the north he was sent to command the army fighting on the Voronezh sector against Denikin. Here, too, he was equally successful, and became commander of the whole southern

front. Thence he was moved to the western front, where the weaker, less disciplined armies were in need of the organization which he has shown himself capable of introducing. It was he who directed the operations that ended in the complete defeat of Yudenitch.

TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

An ambitious soldier needs no compulsion to serve his country in an army which offers such speedy recognition. And "compulsion" will not explain the readiness of Generals Nikolaev and Stankevitch to die rather than desert the army in which they had fought. General Nikolaev was executed by the Whites on the Petrograd front. The case of General Stankevitch is a still more striking illustration of the fact that patriotism and nationalism in Russia now stand shoulder to shoulder with the Revolution. I am told that earlier in the Revolution he was actually a member of an anti-revolutionary organization. He was an old General of the Imperial Army, then a commander in the Red Army. He was captured by Denikin, but refused to go over to the Whites. He was hanged, and it is alleged that a red star was branded on his breast. When the Red Army recovered Orel peasants who had witnessed the execution pointed out his grave, and told how when the executioner prepared to put the noose round the old man's neck General Stankevitch took it from him and said, "I have served in the Red Army, and if I am condemned to die I am well able to adjust the noose myself." He was 62 years old at the time of his death. His body was exhumed, and has recently been buried in the Red Square in Moscow with fullest honors as a hero of the Revolution. That solemn burial under the red flag of an old General of the Czar is a very remarkable symbol of the changing attitude alike of the revolutionaries and of their one-time opponents.

The Religious Revolution in Russia

By DR. PETER J. POPOFF*

FOR centuries the Russians used to style their country "Holy Russia," but under the Bolshevik régime they must give up that appellation, because the so-called holy relics of Russian saints, on examination, prove to be gross deceptions on the part of monks.

There are scores of monasteries in Russia containing relics of saints, which, until lately, were peacefully resting in their shrines of silver and gold. For centuries the dark people of Russia, by thousands, made pilgrimages to these monasteries, reverently prostrated themselves before what they believed to be the incorruptible bodies of saints, and liberally contributed according to their means copper, silver and even gold coins. This was the largest source of income of the Russian Church.

The Bolsheviks decided to find out and expose before the people the real state of these relics. In the presence of high dignitaries of the Church and of representatives of the people, the first examination of a saints' relics took place last year in the City of Varonesh (where the writer of these lines had lived and studied theology for five years, 1864-69). In the monastery of that name, the relics of St. Mitrofan, a contemporary and coworker of Peter the Great, were opened and found to be an imitation of a human body stuffed with cotton. The Archbishop of Varonesh, who was present at the examination, remarked: "It is, of course, very sad to look at such a thing." Next were examined the relics of St. Tikhon at Zadonsk, in Varonesh Province, and found to consist of cardboard containing some bones. And the Archbishop declared: "I especially believed in the relics of St. Tikhon, for they stood out with such clearness from the coffin that one had a perfect impression of a human body which had just been put in there. When I received information from the Abbot of the Zadonsky monastery of what was really found there I was very much grieved, because I shared the gen-

eral conviction that the relics of Tikhon were fully preserved."

The effect produced by these disclosures on the people was overwhelming. One Constantin N. Stechelkoff, who was present at the opening of the relics of St. Mitrofan, declared: "Until the examination of the relics I, as a believer, stood in the church, feeling fear in my heart. When the relics were opened and the deception was revealed all my faith vanished and gave way to a sense of disgust and contempt for this brazen deception."

Together with thousands upon thousands of pilgrims, I, too, over half a century ago, had reverently kissed what we supposed to be the hand of St. Mitrofan, seen through a minute opening in the white kid glove of the saint. I, too, had taken part in the invocation of St. Mitrofan, then believed to be a "great miracle worker," to pray the Lord for us. Now, after the revelation of that gross deception, how can they pray thus any more? And what will become of the Mitrofanievsky monastery, since the legend of the relics of St. Mitrofan is rudely destroyed?

In last April at a conference of workmen's delegates in Tver, counting forty men, the question of the relics was taken up. There came three priests and argued earnestly against the proposal to open

*The author of these lines studied theology in the Varonesh Clerical Seminary and, as a senior student, he was bound to preach in churches of Varonesh. The character of life of the local clergy and monks in particular forced him to give up his studies for the priesthood. Thus, instead of the Clerical Academy, he entered the Imperial Medical Academy of St. Petersburg. On account of his liberal political views he was compelled to leave Russia and emigrate to the United States (1871). He finished his studies in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York (1875). Later on, for fifteen years he was Secretary to the Russian Consulate General, New York. An American citizen, he went to Russia (1895) and stayed there for nine years as Director of an American life insurance company. In 1914 he returned to America. His special studies and his long connection with the Russian official and unofficial world afforded him unusual facilities for observation of Russian conditions.



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. BASIL, IN THE KREMLIN AT MOSCOW—MOST FAMOUS OF RUSSIAN CHURCHES

the local relics. But all the deputies present, except four, voted in the affirmative. On May 18 there took place in Tver the examination of the relics of St. Michael "the Pious," and of St. Arseny, "the miracle worker." Still earlier, on April 9, there were opened the relics of St. Vasily and St. Constantine in the cathedral of Yaroslavl, and those of St. Theodor in the Spassky monastery. In all these cases there were found some bones, cotton and charcoal splinters.

A great sensation was produced by the opening of the relics of St. Alexander Svirsky, one of the most famous saints of the Russian Church. It caused the

Rev. M. T. Fomin, a priest, to leave the church and address the following letter to the Bishop of Olonetzk and Petrozavodsk:

The relics of Alexander Svirsky, which were disclosed to be a figure of wax, showed a blasphemous exploitation of the common people by a group of selfish monks. You, the high clergy, could not be ignorant of this deception, but you carefully hid it from us, the common priests, and the people in general. You allowed the worship of idols in place of saints, encouraging it by your own example and preaching. You intentionally darkened the eyes and minds of the people and deceived the trusting Russia. Woe to you when the enlightened people rise and move on you in their terrible anger, demanding an answer and an ac-



CATHEDRAL OF REDEMPTION, MOSCOW, A FINE EXAMPLE OF RUSSIAN GREEK CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

count which you will be unable to give. (The Friend of Russia, December, 1919).

In 1895, when I was at St. Petersburg, Russia, there was a question about an immediate opening of the relics of Serafim in the Sarovsky monastery. A court physician, who was a member of the committee that made a preliminary examination of the relics, spread a report to the effect that if the Holy Synod insisted upon the assertion that Serafim's body was found incorruptible, he, as an honest man, would be bound to disclose the truth. Whereupon the Metropolitan Isidor, then President of the Synod, found it necessary to publish a letter in the *Novoe Vremya* (the New Times)—an act unheard of before—to the effect that, though only some bones and a handful of hair were found, yet Serafim would be canonized because *the people* believed in his miraculous power, which had been manifested many times. The

public was shocked on hearing that Serafim was to be proclaimed a saint, though his body had not been incorruptible, for until then such things were considered in Russia totally incompatible.

The question of holy relics is of the greatest importance in Russia, for it was believed that in town and village churches all over the country there were minute particles of holy relics contained in the corporals. Hence, apparently, proceeded the claim to the sanctity of Russia; for in every Russian church there is a so-called antimins (antimensa), that is, a corporal or communion cloth, on the altar. It is a small square linen cloth placed under the chalice and platen at the service of the mass. It must be blessed by a Bishop, who invokes the divine favor that the cloth may be worthy to cover and enwrap the body and blood of Christ. It represents the winding-sheet in which Joseph of Arimathea wrapped the dead

body of Jesus. We must bear in mind that the Russian Church, like the Greek and Roman Churches, believes in the doctrine of transsubstantiation.

Now, since the relics of the Russian saints examined by the Bolsheviks proved to be a deception, all the corporals of all Russian churches, including even those originally brought from Greece, may be placed in the same category. This is a terrible blow to the Russian Church and religion.

Russia adopted Christianity from Byzantium in 988, when the Greek clergy brought to Russia the first corporals containing particles of relics of Greek saints. Later on there appeared Russian saints whose holy relics were used for the corporals of churches all over Russia.

Historians of the Russian revolution will not fail to record the Bolsheviks' blasphemous mockery of icons, the persecution and even execution of some priests and Bishops, and the destruction of many churches and some cathedrals. The Bolsheviks are trying their best to ignore the church authorities. Hence they declare that no church marriage will be

held valid unless it is preceded by a civil license. All births and deaths must be recorded at local civil offices, whereas previous to the revolution all such records were held by the clergy exclusively. No church holidays are now held obligatory on any laborers. By a single stroke of the pen Lenin has moved the Russian calendar thirteen days ahead, that is, he has ordered the adoption of the Western calendar in Russia.

The religious revolution in Russia is as radical as the political and social one. If it is true, as many believe, that the people get their morals from their religion, then it is a pertinent and grave question: Where and how will the Russian people now learn moral principles? The writer of these lines knows some Russian sectarians, living in this country, who did not and do not recognize the Russian Church, and who profess and practice the highest moral principles. They call themselves "Spiritual Christians." When order and peace are established in Russia they will return to their motherland and teach their old friends their new belief.

Remains of Saints and the Russian Church

By LEONID TURKEVICH, D. D.*

DEAN OF ST. NICHOLAS CATHEDRAL, NEW YORK CITY

IT is one of the peculiarities of the Eastern Orthodox Church to consider the remains of the bodies of departed holy men as sacred. Our oldest chronicler, when speaking of the baptizing of Russia under Prince Vladimir, speaks of the many sacred remains brought to Kiev by the Greek hierarchs from Constantinople. Later on, when the Christian order developed in Russia, remains of local Russian saints came to be accepted also. These remains were kept hidden in underground vaults, or open in the churches, but the reverence of the believers was the same in both cases. Our Church preserves many authentically verified records of people who, praying over such remains, were cured of various bodily ills or comforted

and strengthened morally by the grace of God invisibly descending on them.

Veneration of the remains of holy men in the Russian Church, however, is not only a peculiarity of the life of the nation; it is also an important ritualistic feature of the liturgic practices. Particles of the remains are sewn in the cloths covering the altars, over

*Dr. Turkevich, whose article is in part a reply to that of Mr. Popoff, was graduated from the Theological Academy of Kiev and came to the United States about twelve years ago to be rector of the Russian Theological Seminary in Minneapolis. When the seminary was transferred to Bergenfield, N. J., he came East and remained with it some years. When the former dean of St. Nicholas Cathedral recently went to Russia Dr. Turkevich became Archpriest there by virtue of seniority. He is a frequent contributor to the *Constructive Quarterly*, a religious magazine.—EDITOR.

which is performed the Holy Eucharist. According to the Canon of the Russian Orthodox Church, such an altar covering, otherwise the holy *antimins*, is irregular without the particles mentioned above, so that the liturgic service cannot be performed on it.

Russians in America hear vague rumors of what is going on in the regions of the religious life of their country. To speak in a positive way *here* of anything that is going on *there* would be taking too much on ourselves; yet we did have indistinct tidings about the remains of many Russian saints having been inspected by some parties, or even destroyed. It is still too early to draw any definite conclusion on the subject from the very scant information at hand.

The true state of things we can learn only later on, when the regular mail service between the two countries is actually re-established. In the meanwhile, it may be a matter of interest to know the actual attitude of the Russian Church in general and of its ritual in particular toward the question under discussion.

Eugene Golubinsky, the famous historian, wrote with much justice: "There are people among us whose zeal exceeds their understanding, and who claim that the remains of the deceased holy men are always and everywhere undecayed, that is, that they are bodies which had suffered no destruction and no change." But the universal church consciousness from the remotest antiquity never knew of any such claim. In the catacombs and the other churches of the three first centuries divine services were held over the tombs of martyrs, but it was not because the bodies remained undecayed, but simply as a visible sign of the continuity of the faith held by the martyrs, whose death bore witness to that faith.

The custom thus acquired by the Church was not given up when Christianity triumphed over heathendom. When persecutions became few and the places of Christian worship many, divine services were held not only over the graves of martyrs, but also over the particles of their bones and bodies,

piously carried to new altars. In time, divine services began to be performed over the graves and the particles of the remains of prelates, ascetics and holy recluses glorified in life and death by the efficacy of their intercession and service for their living brethren.

In the Eastern Church this custom took root in the eighth century, and in its essence it still remains unchanged; it is a sign of the communion of the living and the dead. The Seventh Ecumenical Council meant this when stating in its decree concerning holy images and holy relics, that all the sacred symbols are merely mediums of the transmission of the miracle working grace of God.

We believe that the saints of the Russian Church are still able to protect its children, though their remains in their coffins be disturbed, burned or polluted in any other way, in case all this is actually happening these days in our country.

The way the hierarchs of the Russian Church understand this question can be seen from what Antonios, Metropolitan of Petrograd, said when, in 1903, St. Seraphim of Sarovo was canonized: "Nothing is left of the elder Seraphim in the coffin except bones, the skeleton of the body. But as the remains of a man who pleased God, a holy man, they are holy remains, and are now taken up from under the earth, on the occasion of his solemn glorification, that they may be piously revered by all who travel here to obtain the intercession and prayer of the holy elder Seraphim." To suppose that the chief pastors of the Russian Orthodox Church of the present day understand the question of the remains of saints in a coarse or ignorant way would be to show a complete absence of any clear idea either of them or of the teaching concerning the holy relics which the whole Eastern Orthodox Church has in common.

Here is a noteworthy detail. At the time of the canonization of St. Seraphim quantities of hectographed leaflets were zealously spread all over Russia by a certain "League for Fighting Orthodoxy." The leaflets insisted that the

opening of St. Seraphim's grave should not be allowed; but they failed to affect the Russian Nation. St. Seraphim became one of the most popular saints, beloved of all. The work of the secret league was fruitless. We are not by any means prepared to decide whether the "League for Fighting Orthodoxy," which operated in 1903, is in any way connected with the recent efforts to shake the people's faith in the holiness of the saints' remains and the *antimins* or alter cloths which so intimately depend on them—provided it is true that such efforts are being made. But we can positively maintain that to say any attempts of this kind had succeeded in

discrediting the Orthodox Church of Russia would be equal to saying that the body of Jesus was simply stolen and carried away by His disciples in the hope that by spreading such fables any "league," ancient or modern, could possibly shake the faith of Christians in the Resurrected Christ.

The faith of the Russian people is not supported by the holy remains of saints; on the contrary, these holy relics came as the result of the people's profound faith in the vital power of the Orthodox Church. The blood of the martyrs for this faith shall once more promote the rise, the growth and the strength of the Russian Orthodox faith.

THE CAUCASUS AND THE WORLD WAR

By DR. J. F. SCHELTEMA

NOTWITHSTANDING peace conferences and treaties of peace, the world war has still its innings, both peace and war in their strange mix-up being inevitably subject to geographical conditions, as again clearly shown by the happenings in the region of the Caucasus. That lofty mountain range, a bridge towering in the clouds between Europe and Asia, more strongly fortified by nature than the watergate of Bosphorus and Dardanelles, played its own important part in the struggle of races and civilizations from which the present international situation emerged. As it turned to the south and southwest the tides of devastation in the wake of conquerors of Asiatic blood, who came from the east across the plains and hills of ancient Media, so it proved an obstacle to the Russian Czars when, following their policy of expansion inaugurated by Peter the Great, they sent their hosts from the north, pushing down to the shores of the Caspian and Black Sea.

But the obstacle was surmounted. Swarming on, the yellow-haired warriors crossed the divide and subjugated the peoples of Transcaucasia, the Georgians, Mingrelians, and other dwellers in the valleys and on the plateaus of the land of perpetual battle and romance elo-

quently sung by Lermontov, with due emphasis on their mediaeval virtues:

Oh, wild the tribes that dwell in those defiles;
Freedom their God and strife their only law!

It took the Russians more than three centuries to conquer Transcaucasia here. When the rule of the Czars was at last established, with its local centre at Tiflis, there was an end of freedom. Things changed in the once independent principalities, khanates and vassal States of Turkey and Persia that composed the Russian administrative district of Kavkaz, north and south of the Caucasus proper—between the Black Sea and the Caspian, from near the mouth of the Don to below Batum and from the mouth of the Kuma to below Lenkoran and the mouth of the Aras. In this region Genoese traders used to exchange the dried and salted product of their privileged fisheries in the Sea of Marmora for Georgian and Circassian virgins, whom they sold with great profit and strictly commercial impartiality to the unspeakable Turk or Christian customers of proved discretion. Where Skobeleff, as late as 1879, had to ferry his army in flat-bottomed barges, the ports of Poti and especially Batum, not to mention

Baku on the east coast, became the emporia of an immense traffic by steamer and rail. Meanwhile, the Caucasus was transformed into a base for military operations to back the pacific penetration, which expanded the sphere of Russian influence southward and eastward, an oil-stain spreading over the map of Asia.

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

After the Turkish revolution of 1908, the dissemination of Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic sentiments in the Caucasus by agents of the Committee of Union and Progress made the high army command at St. Petersburg adhere more rigidly than ever to the cautious custom of employing its Georgian, Armenian and other Caucasian troops on the northwestern frontier and its mujik conscripts on the southeastern frontier of Russia.

At the outbreak of the world war the Caucasian garrisons—first of all that of Kars—were hastily reinforced with regiments drawn from the interior to parry the blow struck by Enver Pasha at Sarikamich, terminus of the railroad from Tiflis to the border of Turkish Armenia, with three army corps, the 9th (Erzerum), 10th (Erzinjan) and 11th (Van), supported by a division of the 1st (dispatched from Constantinople) and a division of the 13th (Bagdad). First came Enver's successes, followed by his defeat at the hands of General Yudenitch, who was in pursuit of the retreating Turks when the Grand Duke Nicholas was placed at the head of the Russian forces in Transcaucasia; the Grand Duke was further strengthened with several divisions transferred from General Ivanov's army, which had broken General Mackensen's offensive on the western front.

The moment war had been declared, Nicolai Nicolaievich, co-author with General Joffre of a plan for Russian participation in the task of foiling German designs, had been appointed Russian Generalissimo by his cousin the Czar. A typical soldier, compared by his admirers to the *bogatyr*, or hero of Russian legendary lore, it was more his political creed, unpalatable to the Imperial Court, than his reverses in the field which led in September, 1915, to his removal from

the supreme command and his exile to the Caucasus, customary place of banishment for military offenders, officers of ill-regulated habits, or men of rank suspected of too liberal views.

GRAND DUKE'S SUCCESS

True, the pill was sugar-coated by giving the discharged Commander in Chief the title of Viceroy, which, since the days of the Grand Duke Michael Nicolaievich, had been in abeyance, save to provide a decent exit from St. Petersburg to Count Vorontzov Dashkov when Nicholas II. came to the throne; but that did not take the bitter taste away. Submitting, the new Viceroy bore up under his disgrace, and, throwing back the Turks, who were delivering a second attack to reach Kars as a stepping stone to Tiflis on the line of communication between Baku and Batum, he gave the enemy no rest. Sweeping on, General Prjevalsky seized Erzerum on Jan. 16, 1916, which made the Russians masters of the military road to Trebizond (taken on April 18) and the roads to Karput and Diarbekr.

While Enver Pasha's attack was developing, some Mohammedan tribes of the Caucasus, among them the Adshars of Georgian nationality, joined the Turks, and Tatar malcontents from Astrakhan and Kirghizistan traveled all the way around the Caspian Sea and through Kurdistan to fight the *giaour* in the ranks of their Osmanli co-religionists; but the Russian successes west of Lake Van and east of Lake Urmiah, where General Baratov was pushing on toward Hamadan and Kermanshah, prevented the spread of the insurrectionary movement by such bands.

Linking up with the British forces in Mesopotamia, picked sotnias of General Bicharakov's Cossacks took part in the skirmishing along the upper course of the Dyala after Sir Stanley Maude's capture of Bagdad, but, despite such exploits, the junction in greater number, near Kifry, was, doomed to remain without effect. The revolution of March, 1917, put a stop to Russian operations in Iran and the Asiatic pashalics of the Ottoman Empire.

With the Russian troops retiring from

the Turkish and Persian fronts the revolutionary Government at St. Petersburg left the Caucasus to its own devices and foreign intrigue, which became increasingly bold when the central administration broke down, the Grand Duke Nicholas having been succeeded by Yudenitch, and Yudenitch by Prjevarsky, and Prjevarsky by no one in particular. The ensuing confusion and the Brest-Litovsk agreement furnished Germany with an excellent opportunity to carry through in those regions her scheme for an alternative line of communication with the East to countervail the imminent failure of her Berlin-Bagdad railroad enterprise.

Germany's efforts in that direction showed such a lack of consideration with respect to her Turkish ally that the Porte entered a vigorous protest against its interests being sacrificed by a compact which, among other bargains, recognized Russia's prescriptive rights to Baku, the centre of the world's oil industry, though on the other hand it stipulated the future independence of Georgia. But, says a Turkish proverb, by dint of playing one is sure to find the proper tune, and so, while the whole of Transcaucasia, Georgia included, proclaimed its independence, Talaat Pasha obtained the satisfaction of seeing Baku returned to Turkey; at least, Baku was returned in principle, though it had to be taken and was lost again and retaken, the powers of the Entente, whose agents were very active in Tiflis and Batum and around Krasnovodsk in the Caspian oil fields, bravely resisting the consummation of this deal.

CHAOS AFTER THE WAR

A Transcaucasian Government did not exist. All was chaos and internal strife. Georgian, Mingrelian, and Armenian bands seized with their habitual gusto for blood revenge and internecine feuds the military stores, guns, rifles, and ammunition abandoned by the regular army in Tiflis, Alexandropol and other towns of strategic consequence. Though less well armed, the Tatar clans of the neighboring territories improved the advantage of their geographical location to control for their own profit the routes of entrance into and exit from

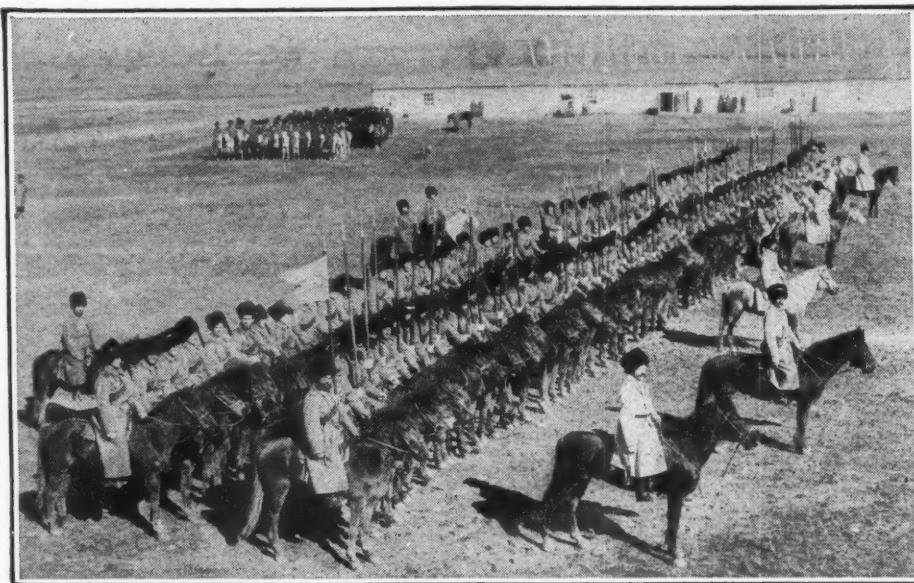
the districts that were reverting to the ferocious barbarism reported sixteen centuries earlier by the missionaries of Constantine the Great.

It should be remembered that Russia in its widest sense counts far more Turkish-speaking inhabitants, most of them Tatars, than Turkey itself. It has been asserted that without them Muscovite civilization could never have attained its comparatively high level and preserved its characteristic originality; at any rate their influence is marked enough to account for the adage: Scratch the Russian and you will find the Tatar.

Those Tatars that remained more or less in the nomadic state were not always amenable to the progressive Muscovite rule introduced through contact with western modes of Government. Their slowly budding ideas of civic liberty, stimulated in the sixties by leaders like Gasprinsky, took oftener than not a violently socialistic form, which necessitated repressive measures, such as in 1906 culminated in the arrest of the instigators of quasi-seditious demonstrations in Kazan. The program of these agitators differed very little from that of the political party represented by the Cadets, with whom the Mohammedan faction in the First and Second Dumas identified itself. The Turkish revolution of 1908 found the Tatars, generally speaking, in full sympathy with the aims of the Committee of Union and Progress; the Russian revolution of 1907 grouped them together more closely than ever before for the realization of Pan-Turanian ideals. Pan-Islamism, too, entered into the projects for a future policy of self-assertion as developed in Mohammedan congresses held at Baku, Orenburg, Moscow, and Kazan, capital of the tribes whose predominance the Caucasian, Crimean, Kirghiz, and Astrakhan Tatars seem inclined to acknowledge.

DANGEROUS SITUATION

Hindering the communication by rail of the Transcaucasian Christians with Europe, the Tatars became a troublesome factor in an already complicated situation, still further involved by the traditional enmity between the Georgians



A TROOP OF CAUCASIAN COSSACKS

and the Armenians. Christians, but of different stock and creed, these nations are so widely separated by sectarian and racial hatred that to spite and circumvent each other they gladly have recourse to Mohammedan assistance, a disposition of which the Tatars were never slow to avail themselves. When the Moslem population of the lands from Tabriz down to Kurdistan rose to resist the wave of Armenian encroachment, which had been set in motion by the impulse of wholesale deportation and was rolling eastward, the Georgians sided immediately with the Tatars against their brethren of the Gregorian Church. In the furious local war kindled by disputes about boundaries and sustained by religious ardor, German and Turkish agents espoused the Georgian cause, as agents of the Entente favored the Armenian cause, to shove a dependent nation into the vacuum created by the Russian débâcle; both sides were seeking an advanced guard in the perpetual struggle between East and West, which, according to the father of history, forms the warp and woof of our preordained sublunar performance.

On the Caspian Sea the Russian Reds have seized Krasnovodsk, holding as

in a vise, preparatory to attacking, the "land of the eternal fire." By establishing themselves in and around the Peninsula of Apsheron, for thousands of years the Mecca of the Ghebers, whose priests tended there in the Temple of Surakhany the sacred Flame of Life that had been burning since the flood, and by commandeering the output of the richest oil wells known, the Bolsheviks threaten to introduce a new and superlatively alarming element into the situation in the Caucasus.

The danger is intensified by the parallel propaganda of the Turkish nationalists, with Mustapha Kamal Pasha at the head of the Anatolian movement and Enver Pasha plotting in Kurdistan, both converted, like Talaat Pasha, and for the same reason, to ultra-socialistic tenets only one shade less red than downright Bolshevism. The imperiled defenders of the mountain barrier between the Euxine and the Caspian may well repeat the hymn of invocation, the song of Shamyl of Daghestan, champion of the Caucasus against Russian aggression under the old régime:

O servants of God!
Help us in the name of God!
Give us your aid!

The Turks to Stay in Europe

Treaty Leaves the Sultan in Constantinople, but Internationalizes the Straits—Lloyd George Explains

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE Council of Premiers, which succeeded the Peace Conference, met in London early in February and labored on the Turkish Peace Treaty almost continuously for several weeks. The British, French and Italian Premiers were present, and Japan was represented by her London Ambassador. Belgium and Greece took an active part in the later sessions. On Feb. 15 Premier Millerand announced the decision of the Allies to allow the Turks to keep their seat of Government at Constantinople, on condition that the Dardanelles be placed under international control and that the Turkish Army be reduced to a mere police force.

This decision, which was understood to be tentative, created a sensation all over the world. The chief reason given for allowing the Ottomans to retain their European capital was the danger of Moslem uprisings in the British and French colonial possessions if the "bag and baggage" policy were applied. This reason failed to satisfy many critics. The opposition party in Great Britain raised strong objections to any such settlement of the Turkish question without its first being referred to the House of Commons. Sir Donald Maclean, the Opposition leader, brought up the question in Parliament on Feb. 19 and compelled Premier Lloyd George, against the latter's protest, to promise the House an opportunity to debate the whole Turkish situation on Feb. 26.

The sharp cleavage of opinion in Great Britain over the question was also seen in hundreds of press articles expressing both points of view and in memorials sent to the Government by people of prominence. A special memorandum of Emir Ali, Indian Privy Councilor, was supplemented on Feb. 24 by a public statement made by the Hon. E. S. Mon-

tagu, Secretary of State for India, in which he declared that if the taking of Constantinople from the Turk was to be a result of the war, Great Britain ought never to have asked the Indians to take part in the war against Turkey. The Indian Secretary continued as follows:

From one end of India to another, all those who have expressed an opinion on this subject, of whatever race or creed, believe that non-interference with the seat of the Caliphate is indispensable to the internal and external peace of India.

EFFECT OF NEW MASSACRES

The rumors that the Sultan was to be ejected from Constantinople, in the opinion of Mr. Montagu, had been one of the prime causes of the new Armenian massacres which had just occurred at Marash and Aintab, in Cilicia, some sixty miles from Aleppo. These massacres were made the subject of many questions in the House of Commons on Feb. 18. It was learned at this time that Great Britain had instructed Admiral de Rubeck at Constantinople to announce there the fact that the Allies had decided not to deprive Turkey of Constantinople, and to warn the Turkish Government that if the persecution of the Armenians continued, the Peace Treaty might be considerably modified. The Allies, he was instructed to say, would not deal leniently with Turkey should the atrocities reported from Cilicia be continued.

In statements given to the press on Feb. 19 and 20, Lord Bryce, one of the most influential of the "Oppositionists," declared that these new massacres were directly due to the extraordinary leniency shown to the Turks in the armistice. That leniency, he said, had allowed them to recreate armed forces in Anatolia and Armenia and to resume the work of extermination which in 1915 Enver and Talaat and other ruffians of the Com-



THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLIS, ERECTED AS A CHRISTIAN CATHEDRAL BY EMPEROR JUSTINIAN IN 531. CONVERTED INTO A MOSQUE BY MOHAMMED II. IN 1453

mittee of Union and Progress had carried out by the slaughter of the Christian population—Nestorian, Chaldean and Armenian—including women and children. Cilicia was the scene of some of the worst of these new massacres; the large Christian population had been comparatively safe before in the high valleys of the Taurus Mountains. The Allies could easily have occupied this country on the conclusion of the armistice sixteen months before, when the Turks were still depressed by their defeat. Untouched and unpunished for so long, the Turks had taken heart and begun anew the work of destruction, undertaken in the obvious intention of annihilating all the Christian population and then claiming the country on the ground that there were no Christians in it. As the French occupying forces had not protected the Armenians from these new massacres, he declared, it was the clear duty of the allied powers to see that protection, at least for the future, was assured. Lord Bryce scored severely the reported

French intention to make terms with the Turkish nationalists, whom he characterized as merely continuers of the Young Turk movement.

The First Battle Squadron of the British Navy, commanded by Vice Admiral Sir Sydney Fremantle, arrived at Constantinople on Feb. 21, and proceeded to drop anchor in the Bosphorus facing the Dolma Bagtche Palace. The squadron consisted of five battleships and four destroyers, the whole forming the most imposing array of sea power ever seen in the Bosphorus. The visit, though it had been announced beforehand, was supposed to have a bearing upon the critical situation in Turkey.

Meanwhile the allied Premiers went on with their plan to internationalize the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and commissions were appointed to report on various issues of the whole problem. Of these commissions, one was to decide upon the boundaries of the Armenian Republic, another to report on Turkish finances, and a third to examine into the

Greek claims in the Smyrna territory, which Premier Venizelos had expounded anew on Feb. 16. Delay in drawing up the treaty with Turkey was occasioned by the necessity of awaiting the reports of these commissions. It was announced officially that arrangements had been made to publish throughout India the allied decision to allow the Sultan to remain in Constantinople, with the object of mollifying Indian resentment over the reported removal of the head of the Muslim religion from his spiritual capital.

LLOYD GEORGE EXPLAINS

The eagerly awaited explanation of Premier Lloyd George regarding the motives which had led the allied powers to their decision regarding Constantinople was given before the House of Commons on Feb. 26. This decision, he said, was reached only after long study of the Turkish situation. Advantages had been weighed against disadvantages, and the council had finally decided that the best way to preserve the highest interests of everybody concerned was to retain the Sultan in his Bosphorus capital.

Referring to the agreement made early in the war, under which Russia was to obtain Constantinople, Lloyd George said this agreement had ended, so far as Russia was concerned, with the revolution of 1917 and the peace of Brest-Litovsk. He reiterated his pledge that there would be "a different porter at the gates," however. It would be the height of folly again to trust the guardianship of those gates to a people who had betrayed their trust, and never again would those gates be closed by the Turks in the face of British ships.

The Premier referred to the "perfectly deliberate pledge" given by the British Government in January, 1918, in which it was asserted that Great Britain was not fighting to deprive the Turks of Constantinople, subject to the straits being internationalized and neutralized, and he remarked parenthetically that this was what would be done with the straits. This pledge, he explained, was not an offer to the Turks or the Germans, but was made to reassure the English people and the Mohammedans

of India. He pointed out that Great Britain was the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, and that as a result of the Government's statement of its war aims there had been an increase in recruiting in India at a time when Great Britain was making a special effort to raise additional troops.

The influence which had decided the Peace Conference to retain the Turks in Constantinople, the Premier continued, had come from India. The two peace delegates of India in Paris, neither of whom was a Mohammedan, had declared that unless the Allies retained the Turks in Constantinople their action would be regarded as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. When the peace terms were disclosed, however, they would be found drastic enough to satisfy Turkey's bitterest foe. The Premier continued as follows:

Let us examine our legitimate and main peace aims in Turkey. The first is the freedom of the straits. The second is the freeing of all non-Turkish communities from the Ottoman Army. The third is the preservation for the Turks of self-government in communities which are mainly Turkish, subject to two most important reservations.

The first of these reservations is that there must be adequate safeguards within our power of protecting minorities that have been oppressed by the Turk. The second is that the Turk must be deprived of his power of vetoing the development of the rich lands under his rule which were once the granaries of the Mediterranean. These are the main objects of the peace.

SUBSTANCE OF THE TREATY

Mr. Lloyd George then explained that the freedom of the straits would be assured because all of Turkey's forts would be dismantled, she would have no troops within reach and would not be permitted to have a navy, while the Allies would garrison the straits. The only alternative, he said, was an international military government of Constantinople and all the surrounding territory, which would be very unsatisfactory and costly to the Allies. The Premier said that if the Mohammedans believed the terms were dictated with the purpose of lowering the Prophet's flag before that of



INTERIOR VIEW OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, SHOWING SOME OF THE GREAT PILLARS OF GREEN MARBLE AND RED PORPHYRY, OF WHICH THERE ARE 107 IN ALL
(© Underwood & Underwood)

Christendom, it would be fatal to the British Government in the East.

Expressing regret that America had not taken a mandate, Mr. Lloyd George said: "For the moment America must be reckoned as entirely out of any arrangement we can contemplate for the government of Turkey and the protection of Christian minorities." He contended that every precaution had been taken in the treaty for the protection of Christians in the future, because any decrees authorizing persecution of Christians would be signed under the menace of British, French and Italian guns. The

Premier said he believed the Armenians would be far safer from such persecution with the Turkish Government in Constantinople under such a menace than if it were in Asia Minor, where the nearest allied garrisons would be hundreds of miles away.

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Following the Premier's explanations the Turkish question was debated for many hours in the House, much difference of opinion being shown. Sir Donald Maclean and many other Liberals and Labor men favored the expulsion of the

Turks on the ground that Constantinople was a fruitful source of international disputes, and because of the crimes and misrule of the Turkish Government. Lord Robert Cecil made a strong plea for expulsion, declaring that Turkey must go sooner or later, and calling on Mr. Lloyd George to influence the Supreme Council to reverse the decision taken, and to remove this blot from the peace settlement. The Turkish residents and even the Sultan himself might remain, he intimated, but the Sublime Porte, with all its intrigues and crimes, must be ousted forever. He advocated control of Constantinople by the League of Nations.

The conference of allied Premiers closed its London sessions on March 3, after preparing the Turkish treaty and its economic conclusions in such a manner that they might be completed by assistants. It was announced that the treaty would be handed to a Turkish peace delegation at Paris on March 22. It was stated that by the terms of the treaty Turkey would be left with a population of only 6,000,000 instead of 30,000,000, would occupy, in addition to Constantinople, only the Asiatic province of Anatolia, and would lose what remains of her navy, the ships of which would be broken up, and practically all her army. The question of reparations had not been settled.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The allied Premiers announced on March 6 that a note had been dispatched to the Turkish Government containing drastic demands, including the military occupation of Constantinople with the support of an interallied fleet. The idea was to impress upon the Turks the fact that the world would not tolerate further massacres. The Allies had agreed that the French must retrieve quickly their recent defeat in Cilicia, and that the Turkish Government must be shown that the Allies were ready to back their notes of warning with military action.

The attacks upon the allied decision regarding Constantinople continued, meanwhile, in Great Britain, France and the United States. A member of the House

of Commons rose and asked the Premier when the famous Mosque of St. Sofia, in Constantinople, would be reconsecrated to the Christian uses for which it was built. Stéphane Lausanne, editor of the *Matin*, warned France on March 3 of the unfavorable effect in America—as well as in other friendly countries—of French support of the plan to leave the Sultan in Europe. Henry Morgenthau, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, declared at a mass meeting in Philadelphia that the Turks should be driven from Europe forever. At a mass meeting held in New York on March 1 it was asserted that Constantinople was saved for the Turks by the large French holdings of Turkish bonds. James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, said the only way to save the American Nation was to drive the Turks into Asia. A resolution introduced by Senator King in the United States Senate on March 3 declared in favor of the expulsion of the "Government of the Ottoman Turks" from Constantinople and the erection of three independent States in the old Turkish Empire under the allied nations or the League of Nations.

An important meeting of the conference of Premiers in London was held on March 10, at which the report of the Peace Council's commission to Constantinople was presented. Though the proceedings were not made public, it became known that sharp measures of repression had been decided upon, which would probably take the form of allied military control of certain Turkish governmental activities. M. Venizelos of Greece, who was present at this session, was foremost in urging stern measures against the Sultan, on the ground that they would check the excesses against the Armenians. He offered 100,000 Greek troops for the purpose of crushing Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalists.

Meanwhile, the allied Governments had asked President Wilson his views on their proposed settlement of the Turkish question, the query being submitted to him by the British, French and Italian Ambassadors. His reply had not been

made public when these pages went to press. On March 11, however, Earl Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons that the Turkish question should have been settled a year

ago, and that the later months of delay were due solely to the inaction of the United States; America, he said, was responsible for many of the difficulties which must now be confronted.

Dangerous Complications in Syria

The Massacres at Marash

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE opposition to the French occupation of towns in Syria, especially in Cilicia, which resulted ultimately in the massacres at Marash and the driving of the French forces from that town, was of a twofold nature. Ever since Emir Faisal's return from Paris in January, bearing what was erroneously believed to be an understanding on the question of boundaries between the Arab State and the French territory,* events had shown that the views of the French on this question differed fundamentally from those held by the Arab Nationalists, supported tacitly, if not officially, by Emir Faisal himself. But though Faisal and his father, Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, made no attempt to use the Arab regular army, numbering some 10,000 troops, to attain their national aspirations by force of arms, a great organization of so-called Arab Nationalists was created throughout Syria to resist the encroachments of the French at every cost, and a volunteer army was created, said to be

able to muster from 30,000 to 40,000 men. The menace created by this army and the hostility of the Arabs throughout Syria were so great that the French forces, which had originally consisted of only some 15,000 or 20,000 men, were hastily reinforced until they reached a total of 30,000, mostly Senegalese and Moroccans.

Clashes between the French and the Arab volunteers first arose over the French occupation of the Bekaa Plain, which the Arabs pointed out had been neutralized by the French agreement with Emir Faisal. Serious fighting occurred, in which the French met with considerable losses. The report of this caused intense excitement through Syria and strengthened the influence of the Arab volunteer movement.

The French also had trouble in the Merj Ayun district (west of the Upper Jordan, about twenty miles inland from Tyre), where an Arab uprising began, to repress which the French military authorities sent all their spare troops from Beirut and Lebanon. In Lebanon itself differences arose between the French command and the Lebanese administration, which had previously been Francophile, on the ground of excessive interference with the local Government.

THE MARASH MASSACRES

* The general lines of the French demands as given out in Paris on Jan. 7 were as follows: The Emir was to agree to a French mandate for the whole of Syria, France in return agreeing to the formation of an Arab State, taking in the four towns of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo, which were to be administered by the Emir, assisted by French advisers and inspectors. In the Bekaa (Bika) region, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, claimed both by the Lebanese and the Arabs, the policing was to be provisionally intrusted to an Arab gendarmerie with a cadre of French military inspectors. The ultimate destiny of this district was left for later decision. The Emir was to accept financial and economic collaboration with France to the exclusion of all other powers. It was subsequently stated that the Emir had warned both the French and British that he feared the Arab population would never accept the French territorial claims, and had returned to Arabia to discuss the whole question of boundaries with his Government; the French demands, it appeared, had not been definitely agreed to by him, and the question still remained unsettled.

On the other hand, the French found themselves faced by Turkish Nationalist hostility in Cilicia, which included the much hated and unfortunate Armenians within its scope. As the occupation movement of the French Senegalese extended from town to town in Cilicia Turkish bad feeling grew. This resentment was particularly strong in the town



SOLDIERS OF THE NEW ARABIAN KINGDOM OF THE HEDJAZ, WITH THEIR NATIONAL FLAG

of Marash, where the massacre of the French garrison and of the Armenian population of the town was planned by the Turkish Nationalists. On Jan. 20 five Americans and one French officer, proceeding by automobile to Aintab, were fired on by the Turks, but without effect.

On Jan. 21 the massacres of the Armenians began. More than two weeks of horror followed. The number of victims was variously estimated from 5,000 to 18,000, the latter figure being vouched for by a British relief agent, Dr. Kennedy, stationed at Adana. The Armenian quarters of the city, including the churches, had been burned, he said,

and 1,300 women and children had perished in their flight to Adana. Eight thousand Armenians still remained amid the ruins of Marash, many of them wounded. The American home for Armenian girls who had been rescued from Turkish harems was sacked and eighty-five girls were murdered on Feb. 7. American missionary buildings were burned.

To defend these victims of Turkish fanaticism General Gouraud, the French commander in Syria, had sent an expedition to Marash under General Normand and Colonel Bremond. This force fought almost continuously until Feb. 10, when, being greatly outnumbered, the French

were compelled to withdraw from Marash, followed by a bewildered throng of homeless Armenians fleeing from further massacres. The French losses in Cilicia from the end of January to Feb. 15 were 158 killed, 279 wounded and 181 missing. At least 3,000 Armenians left the city on foot for Islahieh. A small group of missionary workers from the United States reached that town in safety.

DIARY OF THE TRAGEDY

A dramatic diary of the tragic days in Marash was kept by the Rev. C. T. S. Crathern, a Boston Y. M. C. A. Secretary, who depicts the nerve-racking experience of seventeen members of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East shut up for twenty-two days without outside communication in a mission compound at Marash. The narrative grimly etched by these brief daily extracts recalls the horror of the siege of Peking. Mr. Crathern, with two Americans, a French Lieutenant and two Armenians, attempted to leave Marash by automobile for Aintab on Jan. 20, but was driven back by a hail of bullets despite the missionary's display of the American flag.

Turkish bad feeling over the French occupation of Marash and other Cilician cities had continued for weeks. On Jan. 21 Mr. Crathern found Marash with its shops and bazaars closed, and the Turks engaged in talking in small groups throughout the city. The expected clash began at noon that day, and soon there was shooting in all parts of the city. On the 22d the Americans were awakened by guns and exploding shells. The American Hospital was attacked, the doctors and nurses having a narrow escape. Through his field glass on the 23d the missionary said he could see Armenians fleeing through the streets before the Turks, who shot them down, while snipers picked off others from the hills above. The diary says: "It was pitiful to see them throw up their hands and scream while attempting to escape. We watched them fleeing over the hills until they reached our compound, some dropping wounded and others staggering into the

mission grounds with wild eyes and purple faces, telling of the awful massacres just beginning."

HISTORY OF MASSACRE

After describing an unsuccessful attempt by the French commander, Gen-



EMIR FAISAL,

Third son of the King of the Hedjaz proclaimed King of Syria
(© Harris & Ewing)

eral Querette, to arrange a cessation of hostilities, the diary continues:

Jan. 24—At night the city is in total darkness. Whenever we go from one compound to another we creep along walls to escape being hit. Every compound is filled with frightened refugees, alarmed over the fate of their relatives. The American Committee for Relief in the Near East is feeding 2,000 orphans and refugees, with only a few days' supply, and the bread problem is grave.

Today we raised the American flag, but no sooner had we raised it to the mast than a salute from a dozen guns sent us scampering to cover. The whole country is in the flame of revolt. While the days are exciting the nights are more so, with the great guns booming and soldiers creeping stealthily forth with benzine torches and hand grenades. Fires are

raging in various sections and the city is like Dante's Inferno.

Jan. 25—Hundreds of Armenians are trying to reach our compound, but the light made by fires the Turks are setting to Armenian quarters makes their escape impossible.

Jan. 27—At this moment there is a young woman in our house who tells us she prayed for five nights in a cellar with a hundred other persons. The Turks asked them to surrender, promising them protection. They agreed. The Turks told the men to come out of the house. The woman said her husband went first, and

fore all the Armenians have to pay the awful price of this needless war.

Feb. 8—French troops are in the valley, their guns shelling the hills, but it may be days before they can encircle the city. Wounded continue to come in, and there are many deaths daily. We spent the afternoon watching the battle in the plain from the upper college windows. We saw French relieving troops finally effect a connection with French forces in the barracks.

Feb. 9—General Querette informed us today that he has orders to evacuate the city at midnight. This news has caused wild alarm among the women and children, who are crazed with fear. We urged General Querette to delay evacuation. He said he would try to secure a delay of twenty-four hours. If the French evacuate we are not sure what treatment we will receive at the hands of the Turks.

The diary then relates in detail the horror of the journey to Islahieh, in which many Armenians perished.

In commenting on the massacres French officials on March 5 admitted their gravity, but pointed out that it was impossible to foresee and prevent them, as the army of occupation was not large enough to furnish strong guards at every point where the Turks were likely to engage in an uprising. Other Turkish attacks on the French occurred throughout February, following in the wake of extremist propaganda in Anatolia; irregular forces had made raids from the mountains; a station on the Bagdad Railway had been attacked and raids by brigands had been repulsed. The murder of James Perry and Frank Johnson, Y. M. C. A. men, which occurred on Feb. 4 near Aintab, was in one of these attacks by brigands, who mistook the American relief convoy for a French patrol. Near Houran, Palestine, a combined attack by Turkish and Arab Nationalists resulted in the death of 400 French troops.

WARNINGS TO TURKEY

The allied warning to Turkey on this subject brought belated action by the Ottoman Minister of the Interior toward the end of February. Circulars were distributed and posted urging that attacks on non-Moslem peoples be prevented as "prejudicial to the good disposition of the powers toward Turkey." Definite news of the seriousness of the



MAP SHOWING CILICIA AND LOCATION OF THE MARASH MASSACRES

was shot by their own Turkish neighbor, whom she knew well.

Jan. 28—A pitiful case arriving today was that of Mrs. Selattian, wife of the pastor of the Third Church. She was bleeding from bullet and knife wounds. She says her child of 18 months was slain.

Jan. 30—No relief in sight.

Jan. 31—Nine persons were shot today on the college grounds, some of them seriously. Fortunately, we have plenty of wheat now, and by keeping the women grinding from sunrise to sunset we can feed the people. Mrs. Selattian died today. The uncertain situation is a great strain on the nerves of the ladies of our party, but they are bravely and cheerfully ministering to the unfortunates.

Feb. 1—More children have been shot in orphanages, and hospitals continue to be attacked. The refugees are much alarmed at the success of the Turks.

Feb. 6—This is the eighteenth day of the siege of Marash. We had a joyful surprise. An airplane flew over the city, dropping several messages, which a high wind carried into the Turkish part of the city. But we knew help was near. We were not forgotten. More victims today for the operating table. More graves in the cemetery. I hope help will come be-



CHIEFS OF THE HEDJAZ ARABS

massacres at Marash, however, impressed upon the allied Governments the necessity of taking stronger measures, especially in view of the defiant attitude adopted by the Nationalist majority in the Turkish Chamber. The program of this party rejected all foreign interference, called for the return of all territory not occupied at the conclusion of the armistice, and demanded the acceptance of whatever decision the Arabs of Syria reached regarding their future. It also repeated the threat of the Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal that war would be begun in the Spring if the Greeks were left in Smyrna and the French in Cilicia.

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Safa Bey, in discussing the Cilician situation with a Constantinople correspondent of The Associated Press on March 6, asserted that the Turks at Marash had acted in self-defense, having been attacked first through a misunderstanding, and that "only 100 or 200 non-combatants" had been killed or wounded. He added:

The Government has done its best to keep order, but it is a hopeless task when foreign troops penetrate far into our country, as they have at Smyrna and

Marash, and antagonize the population and submit them to indignities. Free men will defend themselves under such conditions.

FAISAL PROCLAIMED KING

Meanwhile, the Arabs, who were co-operating more or less openly with the Turkish nationalists in Cilicia and Anatolia, were completing plans for a coup. A Pan-Syrian Congress at Damascus on March 8 formally declared Syria to be an independent State, and the event was celebrated with fireworks in Beirut that evening. Palestine, Lebanon and Northern Mesopotamia were included in the districts where the Arabs were undertaking to force allied recognition of a greater Syria under a Moslem ruler, with possibly a French adviser.

The next step followed on the 11th, when Prince Faisal, third son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, was proclaimed King of Syria, according to Cairo advices to The London Times. At the same time an assembly of twenty-nine Mesopotamian notables sitting in Damascus was preparing to proclaim Mesopotamia a State under the regency of Prince Zeid, a brother of Faisal. Thus the situation in Asia Minor continued to acquire new complexities day by day.

Syria and the Hedjaz: A French View

By GUSTAVE GAUTHEROT

*The Allies are in the embarrassing position of having promised to the King of the Hedjaz certain important portions of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus, which are now claimed by France. Great Britain from the beginning was the chief sponsor for the new Arab kingdom, and France was increasingly unfriendly, until at length the rivalry came to an armed clash between the Arabs and General Gouraud's army of occupation in Syria. The present article, which is translated from *La France Neuvelle*, presents the facts about the Hedjaz, but is written with a strong French bias. It is, however, of timely interest in connection with the grave situation in Cilicia following the withdrawal of French troops and the massacres of Armenians there. Dispatches have tended to confirm M. Gautherot's charge that the Arab nationalists and the Turkish unionists are working together.*

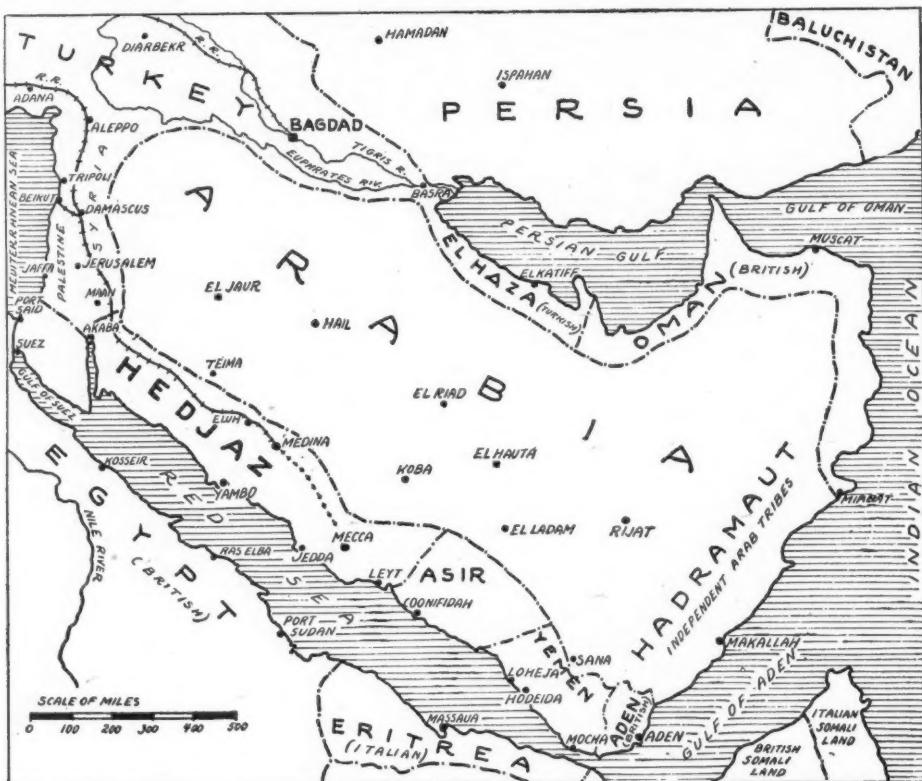
THE Franco-British agreement of Sept. 15, 1919, somewhat dispersed the obscurity of the allied policy in the Levant, and in assuming command of our Syrian and Cilician troops General Gouraud, more fortunate than his predecessor, General Hamelin, will not be obliged to leave the French flag unfurled. But many clouds still remain to be dispelled beyond the mountains, artificial clouds which the Allies themselves, since 1916, when Hussein I. mounted the "throne" of the Hedjaz, have created.

The demands made in 1915 by the Shereef of Mecca on the British negotiator, Sir Henry MacMahon, as the price for his military co-operation, have now become known; they embodied the creation of an Arab State bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, Persia and the 37th degree of latitude (including Cilicia). Only that! The Shereef was willing to yield Cilicia, but not Syria. The Damascus-Aleppo region, through which passes the Euphrates-Nile and Constantinople-Cairo railway, remains Zone A (Arab Zone), and the British troops will evacuate it without our being called to take their place.

What is the Hedjaz, which thus outweighs the powers whose victorious arms are the re-creators of life and civilization in the Orient? What domination do the followers of the Shereef aspire to establish? They proclaim Wilsonian principles. What traffic is covered by this flag? What soil, what race, what dynasty, what services, what policy?

Cast your eyes upon the historical maps where the boundaries of vanished empires mark the furthest advance of successive civilizations: From Cyrus and Alexander to the Romans and the feudal lords, the Arabian peninsula, south of Palestine, has been left intact; the great Arab sovereigns of the Middle Ages themselves left it neglected, the Ottoman Empire did not embrace it, and if it was attached to it in our days, it was only by the weakest of ties; and yet it contained Mecca!

The reasons for this abandonment are obvious to the traveler in Arabia: volcanic mountains, deserts where every year four or five torrential rains revive a fugitive vegetation. * * * Is it famine which perpetuates the divisions among the inhabitants? In the Hedjaz, a region relatively populated, between the coast of the Red Sea and the desert of the West, the territory is distributed between the many Bedouin tribes, half nomads, ready to fight for the highest bidder, but unwilling to go too far from their possessions lest they be seized by their neighbors during their absence. The "warriors" readily attack a rich convoy; they know how to make use of the ground, but aside from this they have no knowledge of military science and will not stand before any real danger. "I cannot fight any serious battle," acknowledged Emir Ali, "for the day that I should lose a hundred of my men all these tribes would turn their backs on me." After discharging their guns from shelter the Bedouins fall back



ARABIAN PENINSULA, PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE OF WHICH IS CLAIMED BY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ AND HIS SON, PRINCE FAISAL

immediately; should we then be surprised that Medina remained in the hands of the Turks until January, 1919?

The Governors of the towns are Shereefs or Lords tracing their descent from the two sons of the Prophet Ali. Formerly pensioners of the Turkish Government, their wealth, their material power determined their degree of influence; there are some who belong to the lowest classes.

Mecca, still a city forbidden to Christians, is inhabited by merchant importers, by robbers of pilgrims, by pilgrims representing all the races of Islam—Persians, Hindus, Malays, Javanese, Senegalese and Moors. Debauchery and the putridity of the worst maladies pervade the Holy City as much as they do Djeddah, its port on the coast.

HUSSEIN AND HIS SONS

Hussein Ben Ali, of the tribe of Iachem, governed these two cities; he

was thus an important Shereef. But the war, by ruining pilgrimage and by blockading the Hedjaz, cut off his revenues and his supplies. He had been for thirty years the pupil and confidant of Abdul Hamid; he derived from this master, as well as from his old friend, the ex-Khédive Abbas, his political principles. His second son, Abdallah, became Vice President of the Ottoman Chamber, and continued to lean toward Constantinople; Abdallah, who was very ambitious, was jealous of the hereditary rights of his elder brother, Ali, and carefully fostered his own popularity among the Bedouins. The two younger brothers, Faisal and Zeid, pursued the profits of war, and each showed himself as jealous of the other's successes as he was unmoved by the other's defeats.

Faisal, the most enterprising of the four Emirs, wished above all to carry out his great project of becoming Prince of Syria. To accomplish this he needed

strong foreign aid. He found this in the English and in the connivance of certain Syrians which he purchased with cash or with fine promises; certain Christians formerly favorable to the French, certain Lebanese who before the war had showed themselves fervent patriots, constituted his "court" and showed great activity, placing at his disposal all their education, their diplomacy and their own ambitions.

Such was the extent and the political nucleus of the Arab Empire dreamed of by Hussein.

In 1916 the revolt against the Turks by the High Shereef of Mecca aroused great hopes in the Allies; on the Asiatic front it meant a mortal blow dealt our enemies, it was "Pan-Islamism" confiscated in our favor, the Sovereign of the first of Holy Cities being bound to substitute his favorable influence for that of the Sultan of Constantinople. This "Pan-Arabism" would safeguard the African interests of France, a great Mussulman power.

The uprising of the Hedjaz certainly offered us immediate advantages; the immobilization of two Turkish divisions to the west of the Arabian Peninsula would facilitate the operations in Palestine and Mesopotamia; the breaking off of too-easy communications between Germanized Turkey and the African Continent would dam up the stream of emissaries who, through Abyssinia, Darfour, and Sahara, went forth to foment trouble in our possessions. The alliance with Hussein, then, was useful; but what help did it bring us in the Hedjaz itself?

THE SHEREEF'S ARMY

Richly paid with fine gold pieces sacrificed by the patriotism of allied citizens, and well provisioned, Hussein was able to add lustre to his crown, to pay off his immediate dependents, his functionaries, his soldiers and his partisans, who had never known such abundance before. His action was thus extended to some 40,000 or 50,000 Bedouins, bands naturally without organization, without power of resistance, without warlike valor. His small regular army, less than 4,000 soldiers composed of Turkish deserters, and natives of the Yemen, black

slaves, was commanded by former Turkish officers or by Arab officers who had learned their trade among the Turks, or by the dozen or so of European officers and the few hundreds of soldiers of the French and British Military Missions. A few Captains and Lieutenants, with their 65 and 80 millimeter guns and their machine guns, were the centre of every operation of any extent, and the Bedouin chiefs, before taking part in it, would ask if our men were in it. At the School of Military Instruction of Mecca an officer and ten French sharpshooters trained "regulars" for the "armies" of the Emirs.

It is impossible to sum up here the guerrilla warfare initiated by these "armies" against the 4,000 to 5,000 Turks of the Expeditionary Force to the Hedjaz. The narrow gorges and the mountain regions favored it, and, above all, the interminable line of Turkish communications. The small Turkish posts doing vigil over the thousand kilometers of the Maan-Medina railway were often surprised, the rails often damaged, with a frequency increased by the prospect of convoys to be pillaged; but trains still continued to run in 1918! On Nov. 11, 1917, Emir Ali tried to destroy the road at Bouat and obtained no result, his Bedouins having refused to fight against the Turks; on Nov. 17 Captain Pisani himself lighted the explosives placed on the rails near Akabet, but saw the Arabs disperse as soon as the enemy's fire was discharged. On Jan. 24, 1918, the attack on Maan failed despite a very great numerical superiority and the aid of the English automatic machine guns, because the Arabs refused to attack the fortress. And one could cite many other examples analogous to these.

THE SHEREEF'S ADMINISTRATION

The administrative and political incapacity of Hussein's Government corresponds to its military impotency. In November-December, 1918, the Kibla, his official sheet, published long lists of Generals, officers, soldiers, officials and even servants. As a matter of fact, the old Turkish officials continued their administration, and it was British officers, British soldiers, who governed and main-

tained order—a wholly relative order—in the Arab-Syrian zone. How could it have been otherwise when Hussein had no firm ground on which to stand?

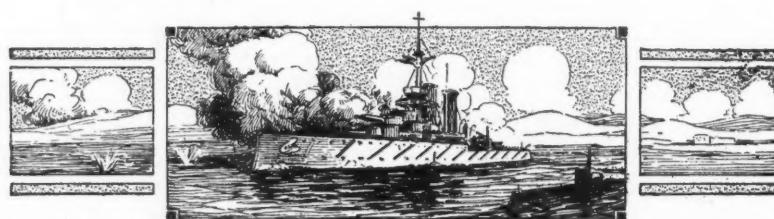
We had believed in the unifying virtue of his religious ascendancy. Gross illusion! The religious unity of Islam was non-existent, and this Sunnite Emir could no more subject to his control the Shiites of Arabia than those of Syria, Persia, or India. Mussulmans of all sects wished from him only one service: To guard the holy places and to assure the freedom of pilgrimage; toward him personally they preserved an independence ever ready to revolt if he dared to threaten them. In December, 1918, as in 1915, he exercised authority only in Mecca, where he was virtually as much besieged as Fakri Pasha was at Medina. The hostile tribes of the Wahabites and the Shammars had defeated him to east and south in November and December; further to the south the Turkophil Arabs and the Turks of Moheddin held various towns. In the north, in Nedj, the Emir Ibn el Seoud, conqueror of the royal Emir Abdallah, and in Central Arabia the Emirs Ibn el Reshid and Ibn Sabah, whom even the Turks had never conquered, showed themselves indomitable. When in May, 1919, Hussein proclaimed himself "Commander of the Faithful," that is, Khalif, the high religious leader of Islam, Ibn el Seoud swore that he himself and his two brothers "in God" would never cease their struggle against the usurper. "All the Sultans of Arabia are lords and shereefs," he observed, "whose noble origin is more authentic than that of the Emir of Mecca."

The royal throne which the Allies

have erected in Mecca is therefore maintained only by their support and otherwise has no foundation in reality. The Hedjaz is not the "power" which certain diplomatic organs would lead one to suppose, and the conception of which was inspired by political strategy. * * * But under the cover of war the drones have swarmed. Bedouins have occupied the western half of Syria, are installed in its principal towns, Damascus and Aleppo, on the railway which connects three continents, and which, for Western civilization, of which it is the creation, has inestimable value for the reclaiming of immense tracts of territory to economic life. Must we leave these Bedouins there?

"I am only a Bedouin," Emir Faisal is reported to have said on meeting M. Clemenceau, "a wandering Bedouin of the desert, who comes to speak to you with his heart." We have learned since of the feeling which he cherished toward us in his heart—a deep and unscrupulous hostility; and in regard to the Allies generally, an Arab "nationalism" which, in its essence, in its procedures, in its collusions, is the brother, the younger brother of the Young Turk Nationalism. Already the movement of Arab independence has been fused with that which the Turkish "Unionists" persist in conducting, and it can end only in renewals of the most violent fanaticism.

The interest of Syria itself requires us to save her from such a danger, and compels us, acting in harmony with our allies, to enforce the superior rights of humanity as against the unjustified and vain ambition of a son of the desert.



Constantinople Under the Germans

Life in the Turkish Capital in 1917 and 1918 Described by
an American Eyewitness

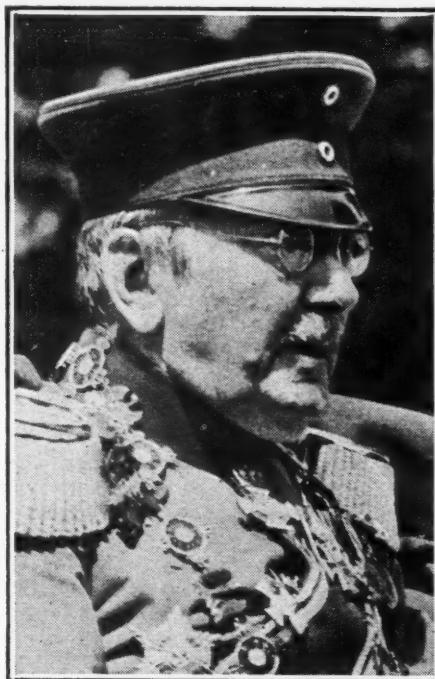
THE Germans were literally the masters of Turkey and the lords of Constantinople in 1917 and 1918.

The Turkish cafés were full of them, drinking beer and champagne; they "swanked" in the streets and on the cars and trains; the dun-colored, swiftly flying automobiles of the German officers were everywhere; high living, concert and chamber music, garden parties, *sangefeste* occupied their days and nights. The very Professors of Turkish and Oriental languages in the colleges were supplanted by bespectacled Teuton pedants. The army, navy, the Cabinet, the railways, and all foreign policy were controlled by them.

Naturally those nationals of the allied nations who for various reasons remained in the Turkish capital after the departure of the allied missions were cordially hated by the swaggering Germans, and their feeling was reciprocated in kind, though with discretion. Americans, on the whole, were much better treated than other nationalities. They were at no time interned, and though always conscious of surveillance, enjoyed full freedom of movement; the American colleges and other institutions, despite the efforts of the Germans to have them confiscated, remained untouched owing to the favorable attitude of Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance during the Armenian massacres, and of Talaat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, with both of whom on this matter Enver Pasha, Minister of War and virtual dictator under the Germans, stood constantly in opposition.

One of these American residents of Constantinople during the last two years of the war—Barnette Miller, a Professor of History in Constantinople—in a vivid narrative published by The Yale Review in its January issue, tells the story of German "occupation" of the Sultan's capital throughout this period.

This story, which might be entitled



FIELD MARSHAL VON DER GOLTZ
The German officer who trained the Turkish Army. He died in 1918
(© International)

"Germany's Decline and Fall in Turkey," begins logically with the wrecking of all the German hopes of the famous Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway as a result of the terrific explosion of the Haidar Pasha Arsenal on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus on Sept. 6, 1917. The writer says of this momentous and symbolic disaster:

Though we did not realize its full meaning at the time, this terrible event proved to be an important link in the chain that led to the victory of the Allies. For in those few hours on that fateful September day in 1917 the last great hazard of the Turks in the game of war literally went up in smoke. What had fed the flames that leaped half way across the Bosphorus was the greater part of the ammunition, the rolling stock, the motor lor-



GERMAN OFFICERS WHO COMMANDED THE TURKISH FLEET

ries, the artillery, and all the varied paraphernalia of modern war which the Turks and Germans had assembled for a colossal drive that was to retake Bagdad. The campaign had been christened in advance with the magic name *Yilderim* (Thunderbolt), by which one of the early Turkish Sultans was called "Yilderim Bayazid" — whom, curiously enough, we Westerners know only in his eclipse as the Bajazet of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." "The Yilderim campaign—Yilderim—Yilderim"—one heard the phrase on the lips of the bearded old men in the cafés and in the bathhouse gossip of the Turkish *hanums*. * * *

All during the Summer of 1917 preparations for this great drive, which was to save the Turkish Empire, had gone on. The assembling of the materials was at its height, the Germans had promised 150,000 men, and the transportation had begun—there were even two trains loaded with troops ready to pull out of the station—when the end came.

For several days afterward we heard the rumor that an English airplane from Mudros had dropped a bomb on the arsenal. The official explanation of the disaster was that some part of a crane had broken as it was hoisting a box of ammunition and the box fell—for the rest no expert testimony was needed. Overnight the word "Yilderim" passed out of the street vocabulary of the Turk—the Thunderbolt had struck, but not in Bagdad, as he had planned. The Haida Pasha explosion was irrevocably the beginning of the end of his dream of Pan-Turanism and a German victory.

THE FOREIGN RESIDENTS

Of all the allied residents the British, says this writer, were the most hated, as the Germans doubtless intended they should be. Of the 10,000 Kut-el-Amara prisoners about 85 per cent. died from disease and hardship. A score of Eng-

lish women and children and two men, exiled from Bagdad on the approach of the British Army, were nine months on their journey across the desert and mountain. At Mosul, with other refugees to the number of thirty-six, they were confined for months in a black hole. When they finally reached Constantinople, after indescribable sufferings, two of their number had fallen in their tracks and died. But in the capital civilian Eng-

through the European suburb of Bechiktash I was startled by the sight of a great brute of a young Anatolian Turk—dressed in the shapeless, unpressed fez, the open shirt, the baggy blue trousers and the pointed shoes of the interior—dragging a handsome Armenian girl (a peasant of perhaps 15 or 16) along the street by the arm. Evidently she had just been torn from her home, for she wore no head covering, and she half walked, half ran, with difficulty on the wooden clogs that Oriental women wear in the house. On the face of her captor was an expression of almost satyrlike glee as he hauled the girl along, while she looked absolutely paralyzed with terror. As the tram passed on we continued to hear the man's shouts of fiendish laughter. So dramatic was the incident that the German and Turkish officers, of whom the car was full, all stood up to see what was happening, yet not a single officer lifted a hand or a voice against the wanton brutality of the act.

The life of the German allies of the Sultan in the capital is graphically described by Professor Miller. The Germans were everywhere; they

filled not only the trams of Constantinople but the streets as well. Their wide, low, dun-colored cars, emblazoned with the Imperial German crest—the type used by the German superior officer—drove ceaselessly and recklessly through the crowded thoroughfares packed to full capacity. They were always parked near the War Office in great numbers. On Monday mornings these cars were lined up at the quays awaiting their owners, who would return to town loaded with flowers, fruits, vegetables and other spoils of a week-end at the Prince's Island. The lack of regulation of the food supply and higher pay for foreign service made life so much pleasanter in Constantinople than in Berlin that Germans openly expressed a preference for a billet in the Turkish capital during the latter part of the war. Here they not only enjoyed greater leeway themselves, but they were able to provide their families with extra supplies. In addition to the large quantities of food which the Germans forced the Turks to let them export from the country, individual officers smuggled out a great deal by post, and they filled to overflowing their compartments in the Balkanzug when they made journeys home. * * *

GERMANS AND TURKS

There was of course no fraternization of the German officers with the Turkish officers, nor even with the Austrians, whose social life was quite apart. The German officers were generally very bumptious and overbearing in their de-



ENVER PASHA

Turkish leader chiefly responsible for alliance with Germany

(© Underwood & Underwood)

lishmen were in general discreetly treated, though several were exiled into the interior.

The Armenians and Greeks, who were counted among the pro-allied groups, were not deported in a body, but many incidents occurred which brought before the writer's eyes all the horror of the persecution to which the first-named nation was being subjected. One of these episodes, dramatic and horrible enough in its suggestion, is narrated in these words:

One day as I was riding on the tram

meanor toward the Turk; in return they were cordially detested, and their assumption of authority was greatly resented. I think the heavy loans made by Germany to Turkey had convinced the Germans that the Turks were wholly in their power—as in fact they were. The Turks feared the sixty or seventy thousand German troops, said to have been kept in Constantinople for use in case of an anti-German uprising, and especially the battleships *Goeben* and *Breslau*, whose guns could easily have terrorized the city.

It was a curious fact that, though the two ships had been rechristened the *Selimie* and the *Medelli*, the Turks were never allowed to man or officer them, and the several thousand German sailors did not even bother to change the original names on their caps. Near where the battleships were anchored in Stenia Bay on the upper Bosphorus, in one of the broad valleys that intersect the hills at right angles to the strait, these sailors cultivated a large garden of twenty or thirty acres, from which they supplied themselves with the delicacies of the season. Its trellised gates and extremely neat asphalt paths were eloquent testimony to the idea of permanent occupation in the German mind. The wholesale corruption by the German sailors and soldiers of the Greek and Armenian, especially the Greek, women in the Bosphorus villages, whose husbands had been drafted or deported, and who were compelled to choose between starvation and German money, was one of the most deplorable results of the German occupation.

An interesting account of the air raids on Constantinople by British bombing planes from the Summer of 1918 on is given by the narrator. During July, August and September of that year these raids occurred on all moonlight nights. The chief targets of the British aviators were the War Office in Stamboul, the arsenals at Haidar Pasha and Haskeuy, and the *Goeben* anchored off Stenia. The Turks had no airplane to defend themselves with, and they resented the fact that the Germans did not supply them with any. Anti-aircraft guns, however, were mounted at all suitable places, and with the guns of the *Goeben* made a fine tumult when the British planes made their hits and flew back over the Thracian Hills.

The main Turkish representative of German influence in Constantinople was Enver Pasha. His exterior personality, as described by the narrator, is strange-

ly at variance with his real characteristics. Professor Miller says:

Enver Pasha was, when I met him, still a slight, very youthful looking soldier with a noticeably shy manner. His smile was winning, and his brown eyes were so gentle as to be positively gazelle-like, if I may use a favorite F. stern figure. Yet, his appearance to the contrary notwithstanding, he was a man of absolutely iron will, who, though brilliant, knew what he wanted and how to get it; and he was totally devoid of the humanizing emotions. During the war he became, with German backing, practically an autocrat far more powerful than the Sultan or even the Grand Vizier, Talaat Pasha.

THE END OF GERMAN POWER

News of the Bulgarian débâcle and of the opening of negotiations with the Allies reached Constantinople in September, 1918. On receipt of these tidings the Armenians showed self-restraint, the Turkish population apathy, but the Government and high officials were panic-stricken. For two or three days the Germans tried to rally public opinion by guaranteeing that whatever happened they would keep open communication by railway between Turkey and Berlin. The impossibility of this was soon evident. They then promised to keep open a route by land and water via Bucharest. In this, too, they failed, and the second boat to try the route was forced to put back. Its return was a signal for panic among the Germans and the pro-German element.

The resignation of Talaat's Cabinet and the hasty flight of the committee followed. Enver Pasha, seeing that the game was up, gave an elaborate dinner at his palace on the Bosphorus nine days before the entrance of the allied fleet, and bade farewell to his guests standing on his quay. He then went ostensibly to his harem; the lights of the palace were darkened, and the sentries went off guard. Half an hour later the launch which had taken away the guests returned without lights, took Enver on board, and steamed away to the Black Sea. Thus the famous Turkish triumvirate disappeared from the scene, to reappear, according to recent reports, in Switzerland and Germany. Enver Bey

as the leader of the Turks and Tatars of Western Asia with German material and Bolshevik aid against the allies.

ALLIED FLEET ARRIVES

On Tuesday, Nov. 13, the long-awaited hour of deliverance from Turk and German arrived for the allied residents of Constantinople. At 8 o'clock in the morning the advance guard of the great fleet of sixty or more vessels steamed into view coming up the Sea of Marmora.

There was a light mist [writes Professor Miller], not enough to obscure but merely to soften the outlines. It gave a touch of unreality—an effect of mirage—to the stately procession of silent ships. There were no salutes, no strings of flags on the masts, no tootings. * * * It was almost impossible, as we stood on the hill watching, to realize that we were present at the fall of the Turkish capital. And of course, at that moment, we hardly sensed the fact that only twice before in the course of its unparalleled sixteen centuries of empire had Constantinople surrendered to a victorious power.

Thus the last chapter of German dominance in the East was written. The narrative concludes as follows:

The English made it their first business after they were installed in Constantinople to sweep the city clean of Germans. Four ships were provided to convey them to Odessa, whence they were to make their way through Russia. After the manner of their kind they, of course, complained bitterly of the dangers and hardships of the journey. And what a sudden and amazing change there was in their manner! They were no longer condescendingly arrogant, but crestfallen, almost slinking. For a few days German libraries and archaeological collections were offered at bargain prices, but the more easily transportable goods, such as fine Oriental rugs, metal work, and curios of their own and of their allied landlords—for they were thieves to the bitter end—the Germans attempted to take with them, until even the Turkish authorities forced them to disgorge their loot. The streets were noticeably free from German soldiers; the quays were crowded with them, waiting to embark. The woebegone few for whom there was no room on the ships remained to be interned. So also did the chief offenders, whom, by the way, the excellent British Intelligence seemed to know all about. Thus within a remarkably short time the far-reaching German grip on Turkish affairs—which not long before had seemed to us so hopelessly strong—had been loosed; and the German sway of a decade in Constantinople had passed into history.

Hallowed Ground

By E. MYRTLE DUNN

Oh, let them sleep in peace! They paid the price
For rest and quiet in that stricken land.
They gladly gave their lives! Let that suffice
To hold in sacred bond that noble band.
Is it not so? The world looked on, amazed
To see the eager thousands cross the sea;
To watch the brave young faces as they gazed,
And heard that "Forward March" for Liberty!

Oh, let them rest! You would not know them now!
Their forms were sadly broken in the strife.
You could not kiss the lips nor touch the brow
That feels no more the thrilling pulse of life.
They went to fight, and die if need there seemed;
To rescue tortured brothers from the foe.
You would not find the smiles in eyes that beamed—
The tones that answered when you let them go.

So let them rest! The work so nobly done—
A grander monument than marble tomb.
The victory sure which they so bravely won
Will shine forever through the saddest gloom.
A little while, and they will rise again,
Responsive to that last long trumpet sound.
Then grief shall be effaced—no weeping then,
For wheresoe'er they sleep is Hallowed Ground.

Popular Highlights of the Great War

By FRANKLIN B. MORSE

THE years of the great war were fraught with countless episodes, dramatic, tragic, sentimental and, in some instances, comic. Historic sayings were plentiful. Hundreds of personalities emerged above the level of their fellows—and so with the songs, books, speeches, military orders, music, &c. To pick out of this conglomeration the outstanding things which made the greatest appeal to the popular imagination—the things which the people remember in connection with the war most vividly—is the object of this article.

Every one who has read anything concerning the war is familiar with the first battle of the Marne, in which the initial tide of the German invasion was rolled back from the gates of Paris to the Aisne River. Doubtless the people of Germany are more familiar with the great victory at Tannenberg, as the details of the Marne were purposely kept from them; but the Central Powers represented a minority of the populations of the world arrayed against them. Thus to the first battle of the Marne is accorded the position as the outstanding battle.

Those competent to judge tell us that poets were inspired to write a few examples of verse destined to be preserved. No attempt is being made in this article to judge of the merits or demerits of anything or any one. Its purpose is to judge, as nearly as possible, what most appealed to the popular fancy, what was most referred to either in speech or in print, and thus brought before the masses. It is doubtful if anything in the realm of poetry made a greater appeal, either in England or in this country, than "In Flanders Fields," the beautiful lyric written by Lieut. Col. Dr. John McCrae of Montreal, Canada, while the second battle of Ypres was in progress. The author's body a few months later found a resting place in Flanders fields. No bit of verse was more quoted than

the last stanza of this poem, which reads:

Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

This poem was particularly favored by the "Four Minute Men and Women" who spoke in the various patriotic drives for loans and other war activities. They had much to do with bringing the poem to the notice of the public.

There are many, however, who may be inclined to think that Allan Seeger's "I Have a Rendezvous with Death" struck an equally popular chord, and with them we have no quarrel. It is a fact, however, that this poem did not adapt itself to quoting as did McCrae's, and so failed to reach the public to the extent of "In Flanders Fields." There are several other poems inspired by the war which found much favor, but I do not believe there were any more favorably received or popularly known than the two mentioned.

A poem which had a great vogue as reprint matter in the newspapers throughout the country was "A Toast," by George Morrow Mayo, printed in The Washington Star. Its appeal was more local—confined to this country—as shown in these three stanzas:

Here's to the Blue of the windswept North,
When we meet on the fields of France;
May the Spirit of Grant be with you all,
As the Sons of the North advance.

And here's to the Gray of the sun-kissed South,
When we meet on the fields of France;
May the Spirit of Lee be with you all,
As the Sons of the South advance.

And here's to the Blue and Gray as one,
When we meet in the fields of France;
May the Spirit of God be with us all
As the Sons of the Flag advance.

Of music and songs there appeared to be no end, and yet no great composi-

tion seems thus far to have been born of the war. "Over There," by George M. Cohan, probably was played by more marching bands and sung by more gatherings than any other song written for and on the war. "Tipperary" will doubtless be identified for all time with Tommy Atkins in the great war, even as "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," with common consent, has been turned over as the property of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's famous regiment of Rough Riders in the Spanish-American war. The song "Joan of Arc" would seem to be deserving, at least, of an honorable mention.

FAMOUS WAR CARTOONISTS

The war made known two artists to the world. They are Louis Raemaekers of Holland and Bruce Bairnsfather of England. Of the hundreds of cartoons drawn by Raemaekers favoring the cause of the Allies it would be difficult to select any one which is better known than a dozen others. In the case of Bairnsfather, who touched on the lighter side of the conflict, although he was quite as prolific as his contemporary, it is not difficult to place one's finger on "The Better 'Ole" as being one of the outstanding cartoons of the war in the mind of the people. No more whimsical conception ever was produced than the depiction of the two British war veterans crouching in a shell hole, with a hail of bullets flying close over head. One of them is made to remark: "Well, if you knows of a better 'ole go to it." Artists all over the world borrowed from this drawing, rendering their "apologies" to the man who conceived it.

Among the war pictures exhibited at the London Royal Academy none made a deeper impression in England than that by Alfred Priest, entitled "Mother! Mother!" It was described by the critic, Sir Walter Armstrong, as "too painful for description." It depicts a young soldier in the shambles of a trench after a fight, surrounded by the dead, calling in his agony to his mother.

MOST POPULAR WAR BOOKS

It has been said that, next to the Bible, the great war already stands sec-

ond in the vastness of the literature it has called forth. To any one who, like myself, has conceived the fancy to collect a war reference library, this does not sound like an exaggeration. In selecting the book with the greatest vogue—the best seller—we are aided by figures obtainable from publishers, and by the statistics of librarians. From these it would seem that of the nonfictional books Guy Empey's "Over the Top" has the right to claim a place among those at the head of the list. Of the fictional works H. G. Wells's "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" had a tremendous vogue during the war. The post-war fictional work to arrest the largest share of popular attention has been "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse," by the Spanish author Blasco Ybañez.

In picking out the personalities of the great war, which, for one reason or another, have become most widely known, one courts the endless possibilities of differing opinions. I will make my selections without comment, feeling fairly confident they will be fit company for any others selected by the reader by way of substitution:

America—Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, General John J. Pershing.

Great Britain—Lloyd George, Field Marshal Haig.

France—Clemenceau, Marshals Joffre and Foch.

Belgium—King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, Furgomaster Max.

Italy—Gabriele d'Annunzio.

Germany—Kaiser, Crown Prince, Hindenburg, Ludendorff.

Of the lesser heroes, aside from Major Whittlesey of "Lost Battalion" fame in this country, the airmen appear in the limelight. Of the Americans we have William Thaw, Raoul Lufbery and Eddie Rickenbacker. Few will dispute first place to Guynemer among the French aces, while Richthofen, Boelcke and Immelmann are the particular stars among the German birdmen. For Italy d'Annunzio overshadowed all her other fliers in the newspaper reports during the war, and this fact made him the foremost character of that country in the popular estimation. Even General Diaz, who was in command of the armies that finally brought victory to Italy, is little known

to the masses in other countries. England hid the feats of her aviators under a cloak of secrecy, so that none of them may be said to be "popularly" known.

Of the men, the millions in the ranks, the limelight beat most fiercely on Alvin Yorke, popularly rated as the greatest individual hero of the American Army.

POPULAR PHRASES

Many historic sayings are recorded, but probably none enjoys the worldwide reputation of "They shall not pass," which was the watchword of the French amid the bloody scenes of carnage enacted about the Fortress of Verdun during 1916. The origin of the slogan has never been definitely settled. It has been variously ascribed to Marshal Joffre, Marshal Pétain, in command of the forces there, and to the troops themselves.

As a matter of fact, already considerable doubt exists as to the origin of a number of well-known dramatic phrases, epigrams, slogans or army orders. Among these is the famous sentence, "Lafayette, we are here!" popularly put in the mouth of General Pershing when he placed a wreath on Lafayette's tomb in the Picpus Cemetery. Iconoclasts have begun the work of tearing down before history is fully reared by attributing this saying to Colonel Charles E. Stanton, a member of General Pershing's staff, and there seems to be every reason to believe he is entitled to the credit. As this particular incident is one of the popular dramatic highlights of the war in connection with the arrival of the American Army in France, it is worth while to know what The Spokesman-Review of Spokane, Wash., has to say on the subject editorially:

All the King's horses and all the King's men cannot keep out of the next crop of school readers the statement that General Pershing of the United States Army made a gesture and enunciated (in French): "Lafayette, we are here!" No matter how many times the General raises his right hand and swears (or affirms) that he never said it, that he doesn't know so much French, that he couldn't have thought of anything so dramatic, that he was there and knows who really did say it—in spite of all these things, the phrase is going down in history with Pershing's name tagged to it.

One does not wish to be a kill-joy. It is freely admitted that an American officer, at the proper time and place, said: "Lafayette, we are here!" It is a noble phrase, and mankind should not be cheated out of it. It was said, and it deserved every one of the thrills it aroused between here and Paris. But Colonel Stanton of Pershing's staff, who said it, ought to have the credit, particularly as Pershing would not have the credit at any price, being a just man.

However, the Colonel has very little chance. A first-class historical blunder like this never dies, but gets bigger and more exaggerated as the years go on, and is found invaluable as a topic for commencement orations. You will remember that General Sherman always contended that he never said "war is hell," but he might as well have saved his breath.

FAMOUS WORDS OF OFFICERS

Admiral Sims and one of the officers in command of one of the vessels of the American fleet variously are credited with having made the reply, "We can start at once," to the question of a British Admiral as to when the American fleet would be ready, after its arrival, to join the British in stalking the skulking German submarines. Americans were thrilled by the retort of the American officer at Château-Thierry to the French order that a retreat be commenced. "The American flag has been compelled to retire. This is unendurable. We are going to counterattack," are the words attributed by some to Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard and by others to Major Gen. Omar Bundy. To the casual observer it would seem as though it would be easy to fix definitely upon the authors of these disputed utterances while they still are alive. Later on the chance will be gone.

No question exists as to the authorship of the words, "Too proud to fight." Those in opposition to the President saw to that. This phrase was quoted around the world and was the inspiration of countless cartoons and newspaper paragraphs.*

* The phrase was used by President Wilson in an address delivered in Philadelphia before 4,000 newly naturalized citizens on May 10, 1915, three days after the sinking of the Lusitania. "The example of America," he said, "must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating

Of the many "orders of the day" issued by army commanders to their troops, the two which made the greatest appeal to the popular imagination came out of the tense crisis of battle. These are Joffre's immortal words before the first battle of the Marne: "The hour has come to advance at all costs—to die where you stand rather than give way."

It was Field Marshal Haig who, on April 13, 1918, ordered his men as follows: "Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, every one of us must fight to the end."

When the Germans called on Major Whittelsey to surrender the "Lost Battalion" his brief reply, "Go to hell!" made an instantaneous hit in America.

Of the incidents appealing to the sentimental side, none probably is better known than the request made by General Pershing of the French commander that the Americans be permitted to share in the great conflict which was being waged to stem the supreme effort of the Germans in the Spring of 1918. "Infantry, artillery, aviation," wrote Pershing, "all that we have is yours. Dispose of them as you will."

MOST NOTORIOUS DEEDS

There were so many German atrocities and brutalities during the war that it would seem well-nigh impossible to select any one which shocked the civilized nations more than another; yet a few may be mentioned as having especially revolted the world and aroused indignation against the German perpetrators. These were:

The sinking of the Lusitania.
The execution of Edith Cavell.
The execution of Captain Fryatt.
Drowning of forty of the crew of the Belgian Prince.

The first three incidents are too well known to need comment. In the case of the Belgian Prince, Kapitan Paul Wagen-

influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."—
EDITOR.

fuhr sank the vessel; then, lining up the members of its crew on the deck of his submarine, he closed the hatches and submerged.

It may be contended that the wholesale slaughter of men, women and children before German firing squads was quite as monstrous. It was; but this article is dealing only with incidents which were so presented to public attention that they fired the imagination of the masses. They are the outstanding cases that people remember.

Amid so much of tragedy there was little room for comedy. Strange as it may seem, the greater part of the comedy was furnished to the newspapers and magazines, and through these to the public, by the persons of William Hohenzollern and his eldest son, until lately a Crown Prince of Prussia. No end of sarcasm resulted from the Kaiser's "will to dine" in Paris. The son was treated as a buffoon by both cartoonists and paragraphers. A cartoon by Bronstrup of The San Francisco Chronicle is an example of the fun derived at the expense of both father and son. This artist depicted a war-tattered Crown Prince, bandaged and court-plastered, standing at a field telephone back of the fighting lines. He was saying: "Iss dot you, papa? Yah, dot's all drue aboudt dose Americans."

The former Kaiser's right to be classed among the highlights of the war is derived largely from the fact that probably in no age has a personality been more thoroughly and heartily detested by so great a number of the world's population. Other men have been as intensely hated, either in their own country or in an enemy country, or in both; but the Hohenzollern Emperor is unique in all history in that practically the whole world was his enemy.

No single event has, in such a comparatively short period of time, added so many words to the English language. A number of war books have had to supply glossaries for the information of their readers. Even the United States Government published a "War Cyclopedias" defining the new words and terms used in connection with the war.

How many of these words will remain a part of the spoken and written language, time alone can tell. At the present time we can think of no one word which has

become more universally adopted by the people than "camouflage." In this country the verb to "hooverize" has made some headway.

One Hundred Tests of Intelligence

Questions and Answers

By CARSON C. HATHAWAY

HERE are one hundred questions concerning men, women, and events frequently mentioned in the magazines and newspapers. By grading yourself 1 per cent. on each question you may get a fair estimate of your information on present-day world affairs.

These persons died in the year 1919. What were they, or what had they done that made them widely known?

- ✓ 1. Frank W. Woolworth.
- ✓ 2. John Fox, Jr.
- ✓ 3. Adelina Patti.
- ✓ 4. William Waldorf Astor.
- ✓ 5. Horace Fletcher.
- ✓ 6. Dr. Mary Walker.
- ✓ 7. Charles E. Van Loan.
- ✓ 8. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.
- ✓ 9. John Mitchell.
- ✓ 10. Sir William Osler.
- ✓ 11. Henry Clay Frick.
- ✓ 12. Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

In what position has each of the following named persons acquired national or international prominence?

- ✓ 13. Joseph P. Tumulty.
- ✓ 14. Norman Hapgood.
- ✓ 15. Franklin D'Olier.
- ✓ 16. Dr. Frank Crane.
- ✓ 17. Frank L. Polk.
- ✓ 18. Joshua W. Alexander.
- ✓ 19. Walker D. Hines.
- ✓ 20. Lew Dockstader.
- ✓ 21. Henry Cabot Lodge.
- ✓ 22. Walt Mason.
- ✓ 23. John L. Lewis.
- ✓ 24. William O. Jenkins.
- ✓ 25. Harry A. Garfield.
- ✓ 26. Gilbert M. Hitchcock.
- ✓ 27. David F. Houston.
- ✓ 28. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- ✓ 29. Edward M. House.
- ✓ 30. John W. Davis.
- ✓ 31. Nicholas Murray Butler.
- ✓ 32. Glenn E. Plumb.
- ✓ 33. Frank H. Simonds.

- ✓ 34. George E. Vincent.
- ✓ 35. Alexis Carrel.
- ✓ 36. James W. Gerard.
- ✓ 37. Franklin K. Lane.
- ✓ 38. W. P. G. Harding.
- ✓ 39. Homer S. Cummings.
- ✓ 40. Calvin Coolidge.
- ✓ 41. Miles Poindexter.
- ✓ 42. William S. Sims.
- ✓ 43. Peyton C. March.

These are foreign names frequently mentioned. Why? What was or is the position or the activity that made these persons widely talked of?

- ✓ 44. Rosa Luxemburg.
- ✓ 45. Admiral Kolchak.
- ✓ 46. Francesco Nitti.
- ✓ 47. Bela Kun.
- ✓ 48. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens.
- ✓ 49. Harry G. Hawker.
- ✓ 50. Ignace Jan Paderewski.
- ✓ 51. Georges Clemenceau.
- ✓ 52. Gabriele d'Annunzio.
- ✓ 53. Eamonn De Valera.
- ✓ 54. Viscount Grey.

Here are a few questions on happenings abroad:

- ✓ 55. What limit does the Treaty of Versailles place on the number of men in the German Army?
- ✓ 56. Where was the interned German fleet sunk?
- ✓ 57. What nations made up the "Big Five"?
- ✓ 58. What is meant by "Bastile Day"?
- ✓ 59. What important coal region was awarded to France by the Peace Treaty?
- ✓ 60. When was the German Peace Treaty signed?
- ✓ 61. What nation refused to sign the treaty?

These individuals spend their lives entertaining you. What is each?

- ✓ 62. Harrison Fisher.
- ✓ 63. Alma Gluck.
- ✓ 64. Fritz Kreisler.
- ✓ 65. Rose O'Neill.
- ✓ 66. Bud Fisher.
- ✓ 67. Josef Hofmann.
- ✓ 68. Alice Brady.

What do these characters stand for?

- ✓ 69. G. O. P.
- ✓ 70. H. C. L.
- ✓ 71. Y. M. H. A.
- ✓ 72. S. O. S.
- ✓ 73. R-34.

And of course you can answer these questions:

- ✓ 74. Who are called the "Bitter Enders"?
- ✓ 75. What distinguished Belgian prelate visited America in 1919?
- ✓ 76. What Constitutional amendment was passed by Congress in 1919 and submitted to the States for adoption?
- ✓ 77. What man resigned from President Wilson's Cabinet to become a United States Senator?
- ✓ 78. What United States Senator was recently indicted for alleged corruption in his election?
- ✓ 79. What man was elected Governor in 1919 on the promise that he would make his State as "wet as the Atlantic"?
- ✓ 80. Where will the Republican National Convention meet in 1920? The Democratic Convention?
- 81. How many States ratified the prohibition amendment to the Constitution?
- 82. What Socialist was denied a seat in the House of Representatives?
- ✓ 83. What airplane made the first transatlantic flight?
- ✓ 84. Who was Director General of the American Relief Commission in Europe?
- 85. What Cabinet member narrowly escaped death from a bomb in 1919?
- 86. When did wartime prohibition go into effect?
- ✓ 87. What incident occurred at Centralia, Wash., on Nov. 11, 1919?
- 88. What bill was vetoed twice by President Wilson and was then passed by Congress over the Veto?
- ✓ 89. What honor was conferred on Pershing by Congress?
- ✓ 90. What reigning sovereign addressed Congress in 1919?

If you have the normal American interest in athletics these last will be the easiest questions of all; feminine readers, however, may enlist the help of expert masculine friends:

- 91. What baseball team won the 1919 world series?
- 92. Who headed the batting list in 1919?
- ✓ 93. Who broke the major league record for home runs?
- ✓ 94. Who is the manager of the New York "Giants"?
- ✓ 95. What baseball team is known as the "Tigers"?
- ✓ 96. Who won the national lawn tennis championship in 1919?
- 97. Who won the amateur golf championship in 1919?
- ✓ 98. Who holds the world's altitude record in airplane flying?

- ✓ 99. Who is the French heavyweight boxing favorite?
- 100. Who is called the "Flying Parson"?

ANSWERS

Following are the answers to the foregoing questions, arranged with corresponding numbers:

1. Founder of 5 and 10 cent stores.
2. Author of "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," &c.
3. Concert singer.
4. American millionaire who became British peer.
5. Advocate of proper food mastication.
6. Advocate of male attire for women.
7. Short story writer.
8. Suffragist.
9. Conservative labor leader.
10. British physician, popularly (but inaccurately) believed to have said that a man is useless after he is 40.
11. Steel magnate.
12. Writer of popular poetry.
13. Private Secretary to President Wilson.
14. Ex-Minister to Denmark.
15. National Commander of the American Legion.
16. Writer of inspirational articles.
17. Assistant Secretary of State.
18. Secretary of Commerce.
19. Director General of Railroads.
20. Comedian.
21. Republican leader of the Senate, and chief figure in the fight to attach reservations to the German Peace Treaty before ratifying it.
22. Kansas poet whose verses are widely syndicated.
23. President of United Mine Workers of America.
24. United States Consular Agent at Puebla, Mexico.
25. Federal Fuel Administrator during the war.
26. Democratic Senator in charge of the Administration's fight for the Peace Treaty.
27. Secretary of the Treasury.
28. Assistant Secretary of the Navy.
29. President Wilson's private adviser; American delegate to the Peace Conference.
30. Ambassador to Great Britain.
31. President of Columbia University.
32. Advocate of nationalization of railroads.
33. Newspaper correspondent.
34. President of Rockefeller Foundation.
35. French-American physician.
36. Ex-Ambassador to Germany.
37. Secretary of the Interior until March 1, 1920.
38. Governor of the Federal Reserve Board.
39. Chairman of Democratic National Committee.
40. Governor of Massachusetts.
41. United States Senator from Washington.
42. Rear Admiral United States Navy.
43. Chief of Staff United States Army.

44. Leader of German radicals, or Spartacists; she and Karl Liebknecht were killed by a Berlin mob, Jan. 15, 1919.

45. Anti-Bolshevist Russian leader, who was captured by the Reds at Irkutsk and executed Feb. 7, 1919.

46. Premier of Italy.

47. Ex-dictator of Hungary.

48. "Ambassador" to United States from Russian Soviet Government.

49. Daring Australian who made the first (unsuccessful) attempt at a non-stop flight across the Atlantic in an airplane.

50. Famous pianist; ex-Premier of Poland.

51. Ex-Premier of France.

52. Italian poet who seized Fiume.

53. "President of Irish Republic."

54. British Foreign Minister at the beginning of the war; recently special Ambassador to the United States.

55. One hundred thousand men.

56. Scapa Flow.

57. United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan.

58. French national holiday commemorating the fall of the Bastile, July 14, 1789.

59. The Saar Valley.

60. June 28, 1919.

61. China.

62. Artist famous for his "Harrison Fisher" pictures.

63. Concert singer.

64. Austrian violinist.

65. Designer of the "Kewpies."

66. Creator of "Mutt and Jeff."

67. Pianist.

68. Actress.

69. Grand Old Party, term applied to Republican Party.

70. High cost of living.

71. Young Men's Hebrew Association.

72. Wireless distress call.

73. Name of the first dirigible to cross the Atlantic.

74. A group of United States Senators, led by Borah and Johnson, who are opposed to ratification of the Peace Treaty on any terms, so long as it contains the League of Nations covenant.

75. Cardinal Mercier.

76. Woman suffrage amendment.

77. Carter Glass of Virginia.

78. Truman H. Newberry of Michigan.

79. Governor Edwards of New Jersey.

80. Chicago; San Francisco.

81. Forty-five.

82. Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin.

83. NC-4.

84. Herbert Hoover.

85. A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General.

86. July 1, 1919.

87. Death of four ex-soldiers at hands of I. W. W. during Armistice Day parade.

88. Repeal of daylight saving law.

89. Made a General for life.

90. King Albert of Belgium.

91. Cincinnati "Reds."

92. Tyrus R. Cobb.

93. "Babe" Ruth.

94. John McGraw.

95. Detroit American League team.

96. William M. Johnston.

97. S. Davidson Herron.

98. Major R. W. Schroeder, Feb. 27, 1920, reached a height of 36,020 feet.

99. Georges Carpentier.

100. Lieutenant R. W. Maynard.

Changes in the Strand

THAT famous thoroughfare of London, the Strand, which has undergone so many changes in the last fifteen years that most of its Victorian landmarks have already disappeared, is to be still further transformed. The blocks of buildings between Simpson's restaurant and Wellington Street have just been purchased for something like £1,500,000, and the buildings will be cleared away and a large new hotel, a newspaper office and shops are to be built on the space thus made available. The Strand will be widened starting from the Savoy Hotel. Among other landmarks Bur-

gess's fish-sauce shop, one of the old London shops with a yard behind and a quay of its own on the river, where small ships discharged limes and oils from Italy, which had been converted into a cinematograph theatre, will finally disappear. There is still a queer, narrow little entry near by, leading to steps that descend picturesquely to the Savoy churchyard. A large area touching the Strand on the other side is also for sale. The Strand and its environments, from the Savoy Hotel to Australia House, when these plans are completed, will take on the aspect of a wide, modern metropolitan avenue.

Losses of France in the War

By GABRIEL LOUIS-JARAY

[DIRECTOR OF THE FRANCE-AMERICA COMMITTEE]

In this important article from the official organ of the France-America Committee (France-Etats-Unis) the war sacrifices of France are thrown into bold relief. In comparing them with those of the great allied powers, as M. Firmin Roz, the editor of the review, points out, one is struck by the fact that France, apart from her moral anguish, has suffered far more heavily in material ways than the United Kingdom, Italy, and the United States. The reasons for this disproportion are explained in detail. The article is based in part on statistics formulated by Joseph Kitchin, an English statistician, and in part on statistical data collected by the French Deputy, M. Louis Dubois, and presented to the French Chamber on Dec. 18, 1919.

THE sacrifices accepted by France during the war in defense of her own liberty and that of the world are beyond anything the imagination could have grasped in 1914.

Sacrifices in money, in men, in land, the sum total seems to be too heavy for the forces of the nation. And yet we are assured that, from this bath of blood and pain, a new France may rise, rejuvenated, thanks to the marvelous qualities of labor, social equilibrium, and natural moderation of the French people, if only our politicians are not too inferior to our soldiers, and if our allies and friends guarantee to us the help which justice, regard for their defense, their own interest rightly understood, and their friendship command them to grant us.

THE MONEY SACRIFICE

Before the war the yearly budget of France was over 5,000,000,000 francs, and during those five years our expenses amounted to some 150,000,000,000 francs. In the period we are now entering our national debt will be not less than 188,000,000,000, the yearly interest thereon being about 9,290,000,000, and our annual general expenses, counting 2,000,000,000 for pensions, about 15,600,000,000.

Such figures, no doubt, cannot be taken as absolutely accurate; but what a light they throw on the burden France will have to support!

But to appreciate its full weight, noth-

ing is better than the comparison Mr. Kitchin, the British statistician, draws between the different great nations. The result proves that France's sacrifices in money have been unequaled; if the amount of the national wealth of the country at the eve of the war and that of the national debt at its close are put side by side, it is seen that the United States has mortgaged, so to speak, only 4½ per cent. of national wealth, the United Kingdom 32 per cent., Germany 50 per cent., and France 62 per cent. And let us notice that the English statistician compares our national debt after the war with our national wealth before the war. What would it be if he had written opposite it our present national wealth decreased in ten devastated departments? Germany doubtless will have to make good this destruction, but when, and how?

Still keeping to Mr. Kitchin's calculations, let us compare the national revenue of the great nations before the war and the annual expenses they have or will have to meet after the war; in the United States 4 per cent. of the revenue will suffice, in England 23 per cent., in Germany 35 per cent., and in France 42 per cent. Germany doubtless will have to refund the sums paid for pensions and relief, but France's pre-war national revenue has been decreased by the loss of all that our devastated regions brought in, and their reconstruction will

not be complete, nor even well under way, ten years hence.

Is another comparison desired? Mr. Kitchin compares the population of the great States in 1914 and the amount of their real national debt at the end of the war, and comes to the conclusion that each Frenchman will have to bear a burden of 4,675 francs on this head, whereas each citizen of the United States will have one of 525 francs only, the Englishman 3,100 francs, and the German 2,950 francs. And if our population has been somewhat increased by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, let us think of the 2,230,000 Frenchmen in the devastated provinces whose sources of wealth have been destroyed.

In the tragedy of the great war, it is on France that the financial burden falls by far the most heavily, as may be seen by the tabulation at the foot of the following page. (See also Diagram I.)

THE HUMAN SACRIFICE

And it is of France again that the heaviest sacrifices in men have been asked on the side of the victorious powers. The official figures furnished by the different military administrations have not been fixed immutably; yet, if they have to undergo certain alterations, these will certainly be unimportant; on the other hand, the methods of calculating and checking are perhaps not everywhere so rigorous as in France, as M. Louis Marin shows in a report laid before the Chamber of Deputies. But such as they are today, the figures are sufficient for one to be able to draw painful conclusions from them; it is sufficient to consider the graphic presentation of comparative losses as shown in Diagram II., [on Page 132,] to be struck by the enormous sacrifices

accepted by France, and the part she takes in the bloody payment of our common victory; 1,355,000 of her sons have fallen in battle, against 648,000 citizens of the United Kingdom, 465,000 Italians, and 51,000 North Americans; out of 100 inhabitants of France, 3.4 have perished, whereas the proportion works out at 1.4 for the United King-

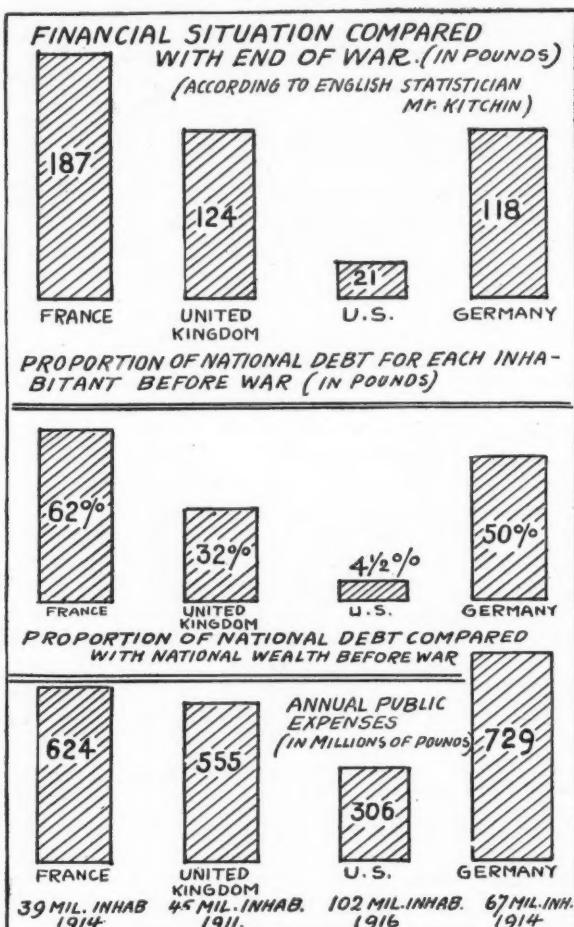


DIAGRAM I.

dom, 1.3 for Italy, 0.05 for the United States, and even at 2.9 for Germany. It may therefore be affirmed that in France, out of 100 physically sound men, young enough to work, 10 at least have been killed, and the number of those who have either been slightly or severely wounded or are mutilated is put at 20.

Such is the particularly cruel price

of our victory, a price to which France has once again contributed more than her due. To the moral sufferings undergone by nearly every family in the country add the economical and social consequences, which are particularly grave, owing to the very extent of the sacrifice; these dead, like the wounded and mutilated, are chiefly young men, the flower of French youth, those who should have put out the greatest economic effort in the years to come, those who should have given the most sons to France*; 100 men of 25 have a quite different economic value and national value for the repopulation of a country than 100 men of 60; the calculations have not been made, but I am certain that out of 100 sound young men living in 1914, about 20 have been killed, and

between 20 and 40 have been wounded or mutilated. Such is for France the awful balance sheet of the great war, as concerns men; it may be seen at a glance in the tabulation at the foot of Page 133. (See also Diagram II.)

If the great allied and associated powers have shared largely in the common sacrifices in men and money, com-

*I shall say nothing new to Frenchmen, but something perhaps of which foreigners are ignorant, in stating that at the beginning of the war there was a thorough hecatomb of the élite of our youth; our young officers and non-coms, knowing nothing of the new methods of warfare, let themselves be killed at the head of their troops with extraordinary enthusiasm, in order to stimulate their men and make up for our inferiority in armament and preparation.

FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

(ACCORDING TO JOSEPH KITCHIN)†

In millions of pounds sterling.

BEFORE THE WAR

	United Kingdom.	France.	United States.	Italy.	Germany.
National debt	650	1,315	200	550	240
Yearly interest on the debt.....	19	52	5	20	8
National wealth	18,000	12,000	50,000	..	16,000
Yearly national revenue	2,400	1,500	8,000	..	2,100
Yearly public expenses	198	208	145	..	166
National wealth (in pounds, per in- habitant)	390	300	476	..	235

DURING THE WAR

Direct war expenses (not including ad- vances between allies).....	7,600	6,000	4,000	2,400	8,750
---	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

AFTER THE WAR

National debt	5,700	7,500	2,250	3,000	8,000
Yearly interest on the debt.....	285	368	96	150	400
Yearly public expenses	555	624	306	..	729
Proportion of the national debt to the national debt before the war.....	32%	62%	41/2%	..	50%
Proportion of the yearly public expenses to the national revenue before the war.	23%	42%	4%	..	35%
National debt (in pounds per in- habitant).....	124	187	21	..	118

†M. Kitchin has fixed approximative figures, which were published in The London Times on January 6, 1919, and are chiefly valuable as a means of comparison, by supposing that the expenses of the war will finally be what they would have been if the expenses of the last year of the war had been continued until July 31, 1919, and suddenly stopped there; that is to say, had lasted during a five years' war. The questions of the reparation of damage done and of indemnities are not taken into account. For the calculation of the public expenses after the war, Mr. Kitchin adds the interest of the debt (not counting the sinking-fund), the pre-war expenses (without counting interest on the debt, but including the average military expenses), the increase in different expenses and pensions (which he puts at 2,000,000,000 francs for France, against a total post-bellum expense of 15,600,000,000 francs. Mr. Kitchin put the total direct expense of the war, incurred by all the belligerents, at about 975,000,000,000 francs), or \$195,000,000,000.

parison is needless if the third class of sacrifices accepted by France is taken with consideration. When it is said and written that France has been the boulevard of the liberty of the world, it is not sufficiently remembered that she has paid for that honor not only by the occupation of ten departments, as took place in Belgium and in the north of Italy, but especially by a systematic destruction of her territory which nothing can parallel in the slightest extent in the West. Generalized devastation is a spectacle which the foreigner can see on French soil only; it affects a tenth of our territory and 2,250,000 of our inhabitants.

Nothing is more difficult than to translate into figures the cost of the disaster, and the treaty of peace has given until May 1, 1921, to fix the estimate. But a preliminary inquiry has been carried out for the Budget Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, and makes it possible to gather an idea of the extent of the damage.

M. Louis Dubois has determined the essentials of it in an eighty-page pamphlet which we summarize in the schedule we have drawn up; he reaches the tremendous figure of 100,000,000,000 for direct material damage to property; this is the damage the treaty of peace makes Germany responsible for.

This circumstance leads superficial minds to think that France, from an economic point of view, at least, will not suffer from it, since reparation has been granted her.

This is a strange verbal delusion, which a little reality soon dissipates. First of all, we do not know when the reparation due will be carried out. Germany has to refund to all the powers, not only their damage to property and civilians, but also the cost of pensions, of grants to families, the upkeep of the

armies of occupation, and the payment of food and raw material that the Allies and associates furnish to her. The total amount will be tremendous and there is no prior right for the payment of the cost of the reconstruction of devastated territories. After what lapse of time then will our population be indemnified? They cannot tell, and if Germany takes a hundred years to pay her debt, where

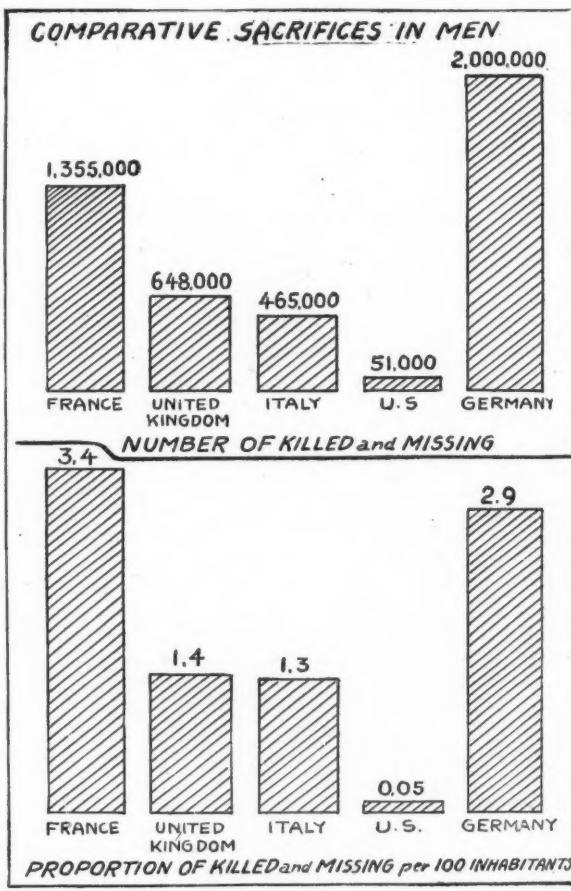


DIAGRAM II.

shall we find the necessary advance? Justice would require that these indemnities for reparations should have the preference over all others and that an interallied loan should discount the total sum owed by Germany on this head; the populations would be paid their indemnity, and Germany, for a hundred years, if need be, would pay the allied and associated powers the in-

terest and the sums necessary for the amortization of this sacred debt. This would be an international loan for the reconstruction of the devastated territories.

But this very important question of lapse of time and execution is not all.

Let us examine a concrete case, which will enable us to grasp the reality better. A cultivator had in the devastated part of France a house, land and stock worth 20,000 francs, from which he drew by his work a revenue of 5,000 or 6,000 francs yearly. You renew his stock, you restore his land to its former state, you rebuild his house, you give him back his stolen agricultural instruments, you recover the money and savings taken from him, you present him with furniture in exchange of that which has disappeared, you do, in a word, everything the Peace Treaty provides for, and to the fullest extent. For many cultivators, all this will be done only two, three, five, or ten years hence. Let us suppose, however, that the one we are considering is particularly favored, that he is fully compensated, and that all this restitution and reparation is carried out during the years 1920-21, and is finished at the end of July, 1922. He will have been deprived of the normal fruit of his labor from August, 1914, till August, 1922, that is, for eight years. This loss will have been absolute for five years, partial for three years; that is to say, he will have lost at the least 35,000 francs. It is true he will have been able to do work during these five years, but what

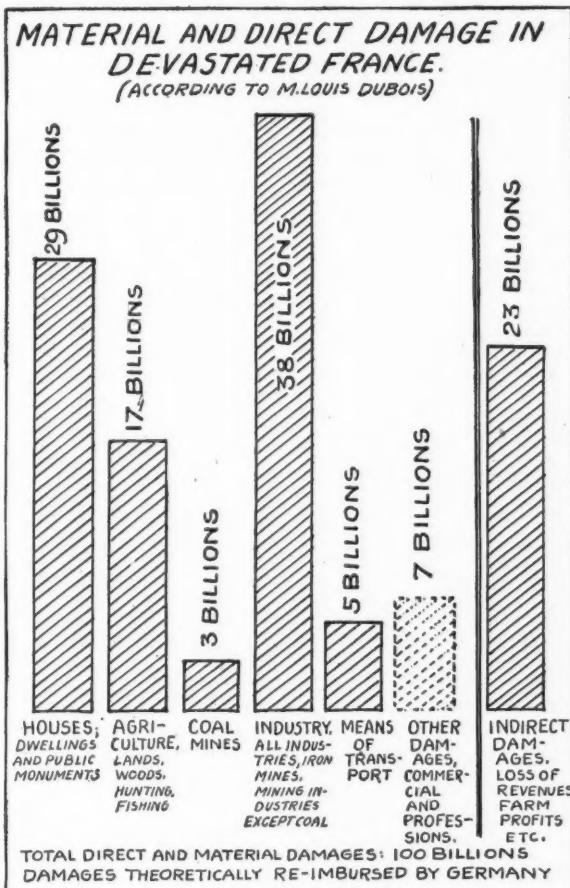


DIAGRAM III.

MILITARY SACRIFICES OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES DURING THE WAR

	France.	United Kingdom.	Italy.	United States.	Germany.
Population**	39,600,000	45,370,000	35,858,000	102,017,000	67,810,000
Number of mobilized†	8,390,000	5,700,000	5,250,000	3,800,000	11,200,000
Number of killed and missing‡	1,355,000	648,000	465,000	51,000	2,000,000
Proportion of the number of killed and missing to 100 inhabitants.	3.4	1.4	1.3	0.05	2.9

**According to Lieutenant François Maury: *L'apogée d'effort militaire français, Union des grandes Associations françaises, 1919*, Page 156.

†Officers and men. The figures for France and Germany are drawn from the above work; the other figures from the report of M. Louis Marin, député, on (de pécule aux familiés des militaires disparus) (Chambre des Députés, No. 6235, annex to the sitting of June 3, 1919).

‡Of Marin's report, Page 48; Page 43 for America, Page 32, for England.

kind of work, and under what conditions? We show that elsewhere. It is thus probable that his real loss in revenue is not inferior to some 20,000 francs, that is, it is equal to his loss in capital.

What will Germany refund on this head? Nothing for the period between Aug. 1, 1914, and Nov. 11, 1918, 5 per cent. for the period commencing on May 1, 1921, and a sum not fixed by the treaty, but one which will represent only normal interest for the period between Nov. 11, 1918, and May 1, 1921. Thus, in the concrete case we are examining, and supposing that the interest during the intermediary period is fixed at 6 per cent., Germany could make good the loss of the 20,000 francs capital on Aug. 1, 1922, by adding thereto merely about 4,200 francs for loss of revenue, and only if it be a question of reparation in money and not in kind.

The longer the period of reconstruction is the greater the loss will keep growing, since on the one hand the annual revenue the cultivator drew from his land was from 5,000 to 6,000 francs, and the annual interest Germany would pay, if she does not settle the indemnity due, is only 1,000 francs.

It is thus only by a misnomer that it may be said that the damage done to France will be entirely repaired by Germany. Even if the problem is considered merely from the financial point of view, a very large part of the losses experi-

enced will always be laid upon France, and the surplus will be paid under conditions and at a period about which nothing is known.

Our friends and allies can thus understand that they are being singularly deluded when the "integral reconstruction" of France is promised, as is shown clearly at the foot of this page. (See Diagram III.)

[To this figure is to be added, as direct material damage, damage relative to: (1) commercial enterprises, public offices of courts of justice and different professions; (2) specie and personal property, by theft, pillage, war contributions, &c., as well as damage done to persons considered as factors of production. An estimate completed thus would rise about 100,000,000,000. This damage is that for the reparation of which the treaty makes provision; it has been estimated at about three times the pre-war value, conformably to the clause of the Peace Treaty which provides that the expense occasioned by reparation and reconstruction shall be estimated according to the cost of reconstruction at the time when the work is carried out.]

Such is the balance sheet of France as regards men, money, and territory. This balance sheet is so striking that the foreign business men who are studying our country are somewhat inclined to pessimism. This pessimism does not seem to me to be justified for any one acquainted with French traditions. The

ESTIMATE OF THE DIRECT MATERIAL DAMAGE IN THE DEVASTATED REGIONS OF FRANCE

(ACCORDING TO M. LOUIS DUBOIS)*

In millions of francs

	Immovable Property.	Movable Material, Stock.	Raw Material, Agricultural Produce, Provisions.
1. Dwelling (and public monuments).....	19,000	10,000	..
2. Agriculture (shooting, fishing, irrigation, woods and forests)	6,580	5,364	5,839
3. Coal mines	1,434	1,404	400
4. Industry (comprising iron mines and extracting industries other than coal mines).....	3,236	12,789	22,522
5. Means of transport.....	5,196	295	..
Total.....	35,446	29,852	26,761
General total		94,059	

*Note brought forward in the name of the Budget Commission, by M. Louis Dubois (Chambre des Députés, No. 5432, sitting of Dec. 18, 1918); the figures have been determined according to the information which had reached the author up to Jan. 31, 1919.

nation has given proof of sterling qualities of work, balance, moderation, and perseverance. Just as the French soldier has astonished the world by his calm, his stoicism, his endurance, his optimism and his intelligence, so the French peasant will show the same qualities, being the same man. Frivolousness, carelessness, vivacity, exaltation followed by depression, all these defects which were said to be the basis of the French character are just the reverse of our qualities. The legend has set up the contrary of the truth, and it is thus only that all French history can be explained: in her gravest misfortunes, France has never let herself lose heart; after passing convulsions and crises in her growth, France has always recovered her calmness; her social equilibrium is wonderful, and no country in the world

has so many small peasant landholders cultivating the soil with their own hands, and uncompromising enemies of all far-reaching social upheavals. His turn for saving is the outward sign of his perseverance and moderation: he does not consume in a day the fruit of his labor, but puts it by to make it bear fruit anew in its turn. Thus, defying every economic and financial appearance, the French peasant cultivating the soil of France will recreate French prosperity in peace, as in war he defended his native land, not only with the ardor and enthusiasm he was credited with, but with a coolness, a tenacity, a calm, imperceptible optimism he was said not to have. However, for the gigantic task of revivification our people need good economic and political guidance and the help of our allies and friends.

German Losses in the War

Official figures of the German Imperial Department of Health, published at Berlin in January, 1920, gave the military deaths in 1914 as 193,201; in 1915, 390,669; in 1916, 311,160, making a total for the three years of 895,030. Statistics for the remaining years were still lacking. Assuming that the military deaths were 350,000 in each of the two succeeding years, the total German loss would reach about 1,600,000.

According to figures published in the *Vorwärts* of Berlin, the casualties suffered by the German Army in the war were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed	62,693	1,655,553
Wounded	116,015	4,118,092
Prisoners and missing.	23,104	1,050,515
Total	201,812	6,824,160

A Socialist publicist named Thiele, who collected lists of dead published during and after the war, states that these official lists contain the names of 1,718,246 persons belonging to the German Army who were reported dead, 1,655,553 of these being men in the ranks and 62,693 officers. The number of wounded according to these lists was 4,234,107, of whom 116,015 were officers, while the number of non-commissioned officers and

privates reported as prisoners or missing is 1,050,516, and of officers 23,104, which brings the total loss incurred up to over 7,000,000.

According to the same lists, the German Navy lost 24,112 sailors and petty officers dead, 29,830 wounded, and 11,654 prisoners. The number of naval officers who were killed and wounded during the war is not given.

The Imperial Office of Health reports that of the members of the German Army who died during the first three years of the war, 829,361, or 92.7 per cent., fell before the enemy or died of wounds received, and only 65,669, or 7.3 per cent., died of illness. Of these latter 7,751 died of typhus, 6,007 of infection resulting from wounds, 5,248 of tuberculosis of the lungs, 5,891 of inflammation of the lungs, 6 of smallpox, 2,516 of dysentery, 66 of venereal diseases, 47 of leprosy, 1,505 of diseases of the respiratory organs, 472 of concussion of the brain, 2,006 of diseases of the nervous system, 4,035 of diseases of the digestive organs, 1,631 of diseases of the urinary and genital organs, and 2,592 committed suicide. In 14,685 cases the cause of death could not be ascertained.

Foch One of the "Immortals"

His Tribute to French Soldiers

MARSHAL FOCH took his seat in the French Academy at the afternoon session of Feb. 5, in the presence of 4,000 people, who had come to look upon "the greatest soldier of them all" as he received the highest tribute France can pay to her men of achievement. A Marshal of France, General in Chief of the Armies of the West, and conqueror in a World War, welcomed to the highest literary and scientific body of the world by the President of a great and triumphant republic, is not a spectacle witnessed every day. The ceremony was marked by the traditional formulas, including the wearing of the green frock coat consecrated by custom. Marshal Foch entered at 1 o'clock, heralded by the long roll of drums, accompanied by his sponsors, General Joffre and M. Freycinet, and followed by Marshal Pétain. He was welcomed by a thunder of applause. Following the traditional custom, he pronounced a eulogy upon his predecessor, the Marquis de Voguë. As he spoke his virile face, typical of the French officer, illumined by clear blue eyes, full of intelligence and kindness, and cut by a heavy mustache, remained calm and impassive. Extreme simplicity and absolute self-control characterized all his words and all his bearing. He began with this tribute to the armies he had led to victory:

Above my head you have done honor to the glorious phalanxes who for more than four years waged, despite all hardships, in many kinds of weather, and at the price of hitherto unknown sacrifices, the most violent and longest of battles. It was to do homage to the greatness of the duty accepted by all, to the unanimous intention to conquer at all cost, to pay a humble tribute to that army,

that the Academy desired to take into its company yet another soldier, "after the illustrious chief who, far from despairing for the safety of his country, broke the invasion and conquered on the Marne (Joffre)."

Marshal Foch then paid this tribute to the French soldier:

Constantly great through the ages, with his noble disregard for danger and his lofty idealism: the soldier of the old monarchy, of the Revolution, of the Empire, the soldier who will show himself grander still in the war of 1914, crusader of the eternal crusade of Justice and Liberty, against oppression and force.

President Poincaré in his speech of welcome reviewed the career of Marshal Foch. In concise but telling style he sketched all the salient features of the great war, stressing particularly the crisis of Ypres, where Foch's resolution and swift action averted disaster, and the fateful day of Doullens, when the decision to make Foch General in Chief of all the allied forces was taken. Commenting on the charge that the Marshal was more of a metaphysician than a man of action, he declared that General Foch had shown his ability to translate his deductions into realities. A storm of applause greeted the following words:

It was for you to make war; it was not for you to make peace. Yet you had the right to say what, in your opinion, that peace should be in order to prevent a recurrence of war. The memoirs which you have written since November, 1918, to set forth the military guarantees which you judged indispensable, bear the mark of your patriotism and your experience. Let us hope the world will never repent of only partially following your judgment. * * * Your victory is a victory of reason, of intellectual and moral power; it is profoundly national from every point of view. Not only did it save our nation; it bears its very mark.



Achievements of French Surgeons

By DR. FRANCOIS HELME

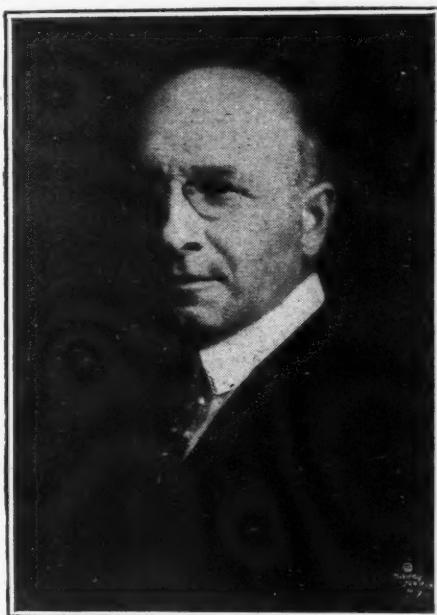
It is not generally known that, after the infantry, it was the French medical service that suffered most on the battlefield; of the 10 per cent. that fell in the aggregate, the names of the young assistant surgeons and Battalion Surgeon Majors were by far the most frequent on the casualty lists. The following tribute to these unsung heroes, which has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY, was delivered by Dr. Helme before a large congress of surgeons and medical men in the main amphitheatre of the Sorbonne in Paris on Jan. 25, 1920:

TO our medical service fell, first of all, the task of protecting the combatants against the deadly microbes that surround embattled armies. The typhus bacillus, from the time the non-vaccinated reserves entered the line, threatened to destroy the army. The medical service drove out the typhus bacillus and eliminated typhoid fever.

Then came tetanus—each day brought a new scourge. By means of injections—“barrage” injections, as they were called—tetanus, as later the new development of gas gangerene, was also dominated. As the result of a fatal error, shared by all the belligerents, it was believed that the projectiles of modern warfare would be aseptic, while in reality they were contaminated by the most infective germs. Gas gangrene, acute infection of wounds, even hospital gangrene—all the scourges that had afflicted our ancestors in the wars of old—rose up again before us one by one. Ah, the dark days of fear and despair! But France, like the young Antigone of Greek tragedy, was resolved not to yield to Fate.

Like our fellow-belligerents we immediately modified our technique. Carrel from the beginning brought us new hope by his system of the continual irrigation of wounds, a method which can never be overpraised, and which the Germans immediately adopted. Then came Professor Gaudier of Lille, to whom the surgical society has awarded its chief medal of honor. This benefactor of humanity, whose name deserves to be remembered, had the simple yet momentous idea of using the bistoury—a slender surgical knife—to clean out wounds contaminated by germs and projectile splinters or

shreds of clothing. When the wound was thus emptied, as one cuts away the bad portions of a spoiled fruit, the healthy tissues, by the simple operation of the laws of life, sufficed to resist all com-



DR. ALEXIS CARREL
Eminent French surgeon, now of Rockefeller
Institute, New York
(© Savoy Studio)

pllications. And complications disappeared.

But medical aid had to be administered swiftly and good operators were likewise necessary. Surgical groups were organized; Marcille created the mobile surgical ambulance, the so-called “auto-chir.” The big hospitals at the front were organized, cities of pain

peopled by thousands of wounded. For the divisions, the complementary surgical groups, recalling in a more modern form the flying ambulances of Larrey, brought assurance of victory over evil. Everywhere the sanitary transports were multiplied, from all sides the surgeons hastened, following the need, from one sector to another.

At the same time large organs of information and control were formed. The younger men first gathered the data, and then the army medical groups arranged the facts, organizing and criticizing them. The surgical society, taking up these preliminary studies, then passed them through the sieve of experience, while the consultative commission of the health service studied and supervised the application of new measures. Finally large congresses of physicians and surgeons of the interallied armies met periodically to discuss questions which remained obscure. The results reached by these assemblies will remain the indestructible monument of man in his fight against death, at the moment when the work of death had to be pursued!

From this methodical organization, to which each, from the humble to the great, brought all his heart, there came forth many new developments, from which all humanity will profit in time to come.

First of all, surgery became more closely united with medicine, whose processes it adopted for the exact study of the human tissues. The laboratory became the indispensable annex of the operating rooms. There, through the use of instruments more perfect and penetrating in their means, the human senses, more limited in action and sometimes fallacious, were supplemented. Here were instruments of the physicist, of the chemist, of the bacteriologist, instruments to measure the strength and suppleness of the heart or the blood vessels—a whole new arsenal employed by the latter-day surgery. And we may say, even though no epoch-making discovery was made, that surgical art made more progress in four years of war than in forty years of peace. A splendid work, and fertile for the future, honoring not only the profession but the country which en-

gendered it: even our enemies have had to pay it homage.

In recalling what was done, I have wished only to honor the dead in my own fashion. Nothing could have been accomplished without their co-operation. Such good men they were, if you but knew it! I have known some who had in their hearts all the tenderness and fervor of the saints: sometimes, beneath the helmet, it seemed to me that I could see a halo.

There were men of all ages in the health service, for the medical and pharmaceutical services furnished more elderly men than any other branch. It was these veterans who set the example for the ambulances at the front. At certain times the medical staff worked beyond all human strength. No useless word was uttered; only the muffled moans of the wounded: one felt one's self in a silent realm. After the work came relaxation, and only then broke forth discussions from every side, invariably about the destiny of man. This ever-active chosen group was unwilling to limit itself to the present, for it knew that it was paving the way for the future. How many various problems have I heard debated with the vigor of youth and the sincerity of men whose whole code and scale of values was summed up in their attitude toward danger!

I should like to reproduce here the long conversations of the former country physicians in the ambulances, with men who, like themselves, had come from the soil. The home soil! They spoke of it constantly. How many times, they wondered, would it change its Summer, Winter, Spring, or Autumn dress before it would be vouchsafed them to see it again. They forgot this theme only when they spoke of their wives, their children, whose photographs, taken out of their knapsacks, were soon spread out upon the beds. No more differentiations of rank and origin existed among those sons of the same mother: they were only brothers in misery consoling one another.

During these intervals of calm the nurses, both men and women, were able to take a little rest. They, too, did good service for the country. As the result of lack of sleep in their constant attendance

on operations, many of them lost their health and even their lives. It is such a delicate task to remodel the living flesh, so long to sew it up again, a body torn with shot and shell! And then, can one even think of sleeping when the stream of wounded flows in from every side? But the next day the operations were even more numerous.

The litter-carriers should also be remembered. Tired fathers of families, or young auxiliary aids with narrow shoulders, they played their part as beasts of burden in a work whose obscure merit only their chiefs understood. "If only, from time to time, we could fire a shot, what a relief it would be!" one of them said to me. "But always taking, and never returning—that's what is hard!"

As a matter of fact, it was the battalion doctors and the auxiliary doctors—"the little auxis," as we called them—whom we loved the most. Students, hospital interns or externs, invariably fond of athletics and sports, they had never been willing to admit that they were sons of a vanquished nation. And when the drum-beat resounded, they departed resolutely to settle the old account which could be settled only with blood. Brave little chaps! They were in all the bloodiest battles. Always on the go. Their name written on a paper, with a new address, and they were off, sometimes to the other end of the world, made into other men, with other responsibilities, other dangers. One moment changed their destinies. And here one saw at the same time all the nobility of war and the harsh service of the army in its most formidable grandeur!

When our "auxis" returned, after the first releases were granted, with their pale faces, their eyes which the terrible visions of war seemed to have made larger, their mothers could scarcely recognize them under their steel helmets. Sometimes, when they raised their voices

a little or made an impatient gesture, signs of new strength of will still developing, the mothers divined that they had become more remote from them, that these were less their sons. A tender fear would take possession of them then, soon driven away by a smile. In spite of all, they were proud of them: "Just think: my soldier!"

I was always their friend, their confidant sometimes, in the black hours of the "cafard,"* They would seek me out, and I would watch them go back to their battalion or their battery at a brisk pace. We would exchange the banal greeting of farewell, in which each of us would put his whole soul. How many never returned, how many of these young flowers of manhood were prematurely cut down! It is here that their splendid performance of Christ's work must be revealed.

Non-commissioned officers by rank, officers by their attainments, the "auxis" and major battalion physicians soon won an authority which had important consequences. Revered priests of the new cult, science, they exercised on the poilus an undeniable moral influence. Until that time, for the simple-minded, the physician had been a man who watched suffering, who aided suffering, but who seemed himself superior to suffering. But during the war the soldier saw at his side the little "Major," who suffered like himself in the trenches, who, like himself, rose when the hour of attack had sounded, who was wounded and died like himself. Imagine what an affectionate esteem, on the one side, what a legitimate authority on the other, must have sprung from such a fraternity of arms. This beneficent influence was used by these young men wholly in the service of their country. Doubly leaders, our young doctors were not only healers but arousers of energy. We must never forget it.

*French military slang for "the blues."



Fate of German Spies in England

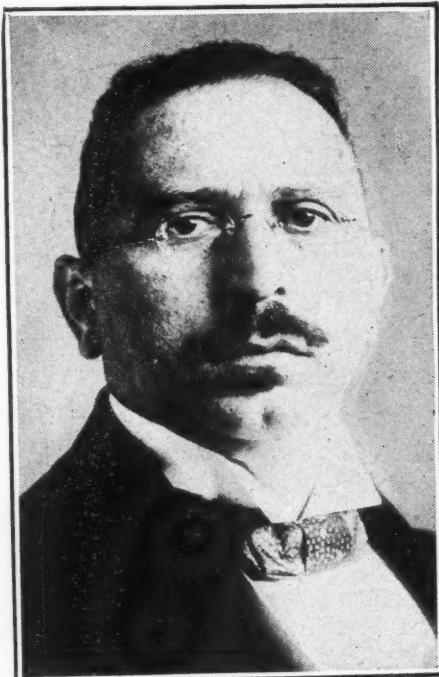
How the British Secret Service Countered the Underground Campaign of the Kaiser's Agents

THE hitherto unpublished details of how the British Government, by skillful secret service work, was able at the outbreak of the war to arrest twenty-one of the twenty-two spies distributed by the German Intelligence Department at various important ports, and thus to frustrate that country's whole program of espionage, sabotage, and arson in England, have become available through a series of

The outbreak of the European war found Germany without a spy system in Great Britain, despite the unceasing and widely ramifying activities of that German Master-Spy, Herr Steinhauer, the Kaiser's personal friend, appointed as the head of the German Secret Service in 1905. It was in this year that the German Emperor first began clearly to reveal his deep-rooted hatred for England and his projects of world domination. What those projects were the so-called "Willy-Nicky" letters have revealed.

Steinhauer signalized his advent by throwing around Europe, and especially around Russia, France and Great Britain, a network of male and female spies. Those in Great Britain were long known to the British Government, whose secret agents followed all their movements, intercepted their correspondence, and drew up a full "tree" of every spy employed. Much of the information on which the British agents worked was furnished unconsciously by a German barber named Karl Gustav Ernst, who, at a princely salary of one pound a week, later increased to thirty shillings, re-posted with British stamps large packets of German letters sent to him periodically by a German "Commerical Agency." This forwarding of instruction to secret agents had been known to the British Intelligence Division since 1910. All these "commercial" letters were opened and carefully read by the British agents, then re-forwarded. It was mainly on the basis of this information that the list of German spies referred to was drawn up.

For their own purposes the authorities refrained from arresting any of those involved, but their knowledge of the latters' activities was so complete and damning that when Aug. 4, 1914, came, the Military Intelligence Department had only to wire to the Chief Constables of the various coast towns where the Ger-



IGNATIUS T. T. LINCOLN
Spy sentenced to prison by the British
(© Bain News Service)

articles by Sidney Theodore Felstead which began in the London Morning Post on Feb. 2, 1920. The authenticity of this narrative, written from the inside, and confirmed by facsimile illustrations of important documents, was vouched for by the publishers.

mans were operating to net the arrest of twenty-one of the spies involved. Only one escaped by way of Hull.

LIST OF SPIES ARRESTED

One of those arrested was Ernst himself. On cross examination he alleged that at first he had been ignorant of the real character of the work to which he had lent himself. He confessed, however, to communicating with Steinhauer in Berlin, whose *nom de guerre* was temporarily Madame Reimers. His tale was destitute of all plausibility, and he was sentenced on Nov. 13, 1914, to seven years' penal servitude. The full list of the other spies arrested, as given by Mr. Felstead, was as follows:

Arrested in	
Antonius J. F. Dummenie	London
Karl Stubenwoll	Newcastle
Karl Meyer	Warwick
Johann Kuhr	Newcastle
Oscar Buckwaldt	Brighton
Karl Hemlar	Winchester
Frederich Apel	Barrow-in-Furness
Max A. Laurens	London
Franz H. Losel	Sittingbourne
Thomas Kegnamer	Southampton
Adolph Scneider	London
Karl von Weller	Padstow
Marie Kronauer	London
Celse Rodrigues	Portsmouth
Frederich Diederichs	London
August Kluneer	London
Lina M. Heine	Portsmouth
Heinrich Schutte	Weymouth
Fredrich Lukowski	Newcastle
Otto Kruger	Mountain Ash
Johann A. Engel	Falmouth

It will be seen at once, from this list, that what the German Government specially desired was naval information. Most of the spies arrested cheerfully revealed all their secret activities in full detail, and quite a: cheerfully departed for the internment camps, which were "much to be preferred to fighting for the Fatherland on the already blood-stained battlefields of France and Flanders." Thus, scarcely had the war begun, when Germany found her espionage-gaze into the naval and political secrets of her formidable rival, England, completely blinded, and English troops were enabled to cross the Channel to bring aid to their hard-pressed French brothers seventeen days before the German Government had knowledge of what had hap-

pened to her staff of agents under English skies.

Her attempts to rebuild that staff were attended with a certain amount of success. Despite the taking over of the railways by the Government the evolution of the cable censorship, and the registration of aliens, large numbers of neutrals still passed unchallenged through British ports, and no satisfactory means of differentiating the harmless South American or Dutch trader from the German agent who came spying under the cloak of commerce, duly provided with a forged passport quite *en regle*, was at first devised. It was only much later that this defect of the intelligence system was remedied; meanwhile, Germany found means to get a certain number of paid agents into the country. "It is one of the greatest mysteries of the war," says Mr. Felstead, "that with 32,000 Germans in Great Britain, no attempts at sabotage took place. Whatever the reason, it is beyond all doubt that we were never subjected to sabotage of the kind so common in America in 1915 and 1916."

KARL HANS LODY

Two of the German spies who appeared in England soon after the outbreak of the war, Karl Hans Lody and Anthony Kupferle, met a tragic end; one died an officer's death, the other committed suicide in his cell. They were not mere hirelings, but men actuated by strong patriotic motives. Both were betrayed by the callous neglect of their employers at Berlin. Both were noteworthy for utter inefficiency in the exercise of the new calling which they had adopted and for which their mental equipment was apparently unsuited.

Lody, however, had special qualifications for the rôle he volunteered to play. A man of about 50 years, who had long resided in the United States, and who spoke excellent English with an American accent, the year 1900 found him a Lieutenant in the German Navy, whence he was subsequently transferred to the Reserve of Officers after a resignation due to lack of means. He then served as a tourist-guide on the Hamburg-

American steamship line, traveling in that capacity all over England. Lody returned to Berlin from a Norwegian tour a few days before Aug. 4, 1914, and offered his services to the German Government as a professional spy. To secure his entrance to England, the German Intelligence Department abstracted the passport of an American, Charles A. Inglis, from the Foreign Office where it lay awaiting visé to enable its owner, then staying in Berlin, to continue traveling through Europe, substituted Lody's photograph for that of Inglis, and handed it over to Lody made out in Inglis's name.

LODY'S WORK IN ENGLAND

The first time the presence of Inglis, alias Lody, came to the notice of the British authorities was after the arrival of the spy in Edinburgh, where, posing as an American tourist, he took a room in the North British Station Hotel. A telegram sent by him thence to one Adolf Burchard in Stockholm aroused suspicion and Lody became thenceforth a marked man. Recognizing the danger of staying in a large hotel, he took private lodgings and cycled for a fortnight, searching out places of naval interest around Edinburgh. In Rosyth especially he aroused more than ordinary curiosity with the questions he asked. Still in the guise of an American sightseer, Lody next turned up in London at a Bloomsbury hotel and studied the protective measures that were taken after the first Zeppelin raid on London. The covering of the Houses of Parliament, Buckingham Palace, the Bank of England, and other places, with strong wire netting, was reported by Lody to Berlin via Stockholm; or at least Lody thought he was so reporting; as a matter of fact his messages were already being intercepted by the postal censorship.

After two days in London Lody went back to Edinburgh, and thence to Liverpool, wholly unaware that his every movement was being closely watched. The business of fitting out big ocean liners as auxiliary cruisers was then in full blast at Liverpool, and Mr. "Inglis,"

using his technical knowledge to full advantage, made a detailed report on these activities to the German Secret Service in Berlin. From Holyhead he took boat for Ireland. He was permitted to land at Dublin after a challenging of his identity which so aroused his fears that he wrote a letter to Herr Burchard, in



KARL HANS LODY
German spy, shot in the Tower of London,
Nov. 6, 1914
 (C) Underwood & Underwood

which he suggested the advisability of his disappearing for some time to come. In this letter he reviewed all that he had seen so far. Most of his information, from the first to last, would have been of little value to the Germans even if it had reached them, which it did not. One piece of "news" which was allowed to go through was that of the landing of thousands of bearded, booted Russians, "with the snow of the steppes still clinging to their boots," passing through England on their way to the western front, an item, incidentally, which evoked much perturbation in the German General Staff.

Lody's "career" was at last cut short at Killarney, where he was detained by

the Royal Irish Constabulary on Oct. 2 to await the arrival of detectives from Scotland Yard. In his kit-bag were found the forged passport, £145 in Bank of England notes, £30 in English gold, some German gold and Norwegian notes, a notebook with particulars of the naval fight in the North Sea, addresses in Berlin, Stockholm, Bergen and Hamburg, and copies of his four communications to Burchard in Stockholm, sufficient of themselves to condemn him irrevocably.

Lody was brought to London and tried by court-martial at the Guildhall, Westminster, on Oct. 30 and 31. With flushed, clean-shaven face and deep, be-spectacled eyes, he listened to the damning evidence against him; then, through his counsel, he declared to the court that he had simply done his duty, and left the consequences completely in their hands. His grandfather, he stated, had been a great soldier who had held a fortress against Napoleon, and it was in that spirit that he appeared before his judges on this day. He did not wish to cringe for mercy, was ashamed of nothing he had done, and would accept the court's decision, whatever it might be, as that of just and righteous men.

LODY'S LAST MESSAGES

The accused was found guilty and sentenced to death. The execution was carried out five days later. Before his death he wrote two letters, one to his relatives in Stuttgart, the other to his prison guard. They were as follows:

My Dear Ones: I have trusted in God, and He has decided. My hour has come, and I must start on the journey through the Dark Valley, like so many of my comrades in this terrible war of nations. May my life be honored as a humble offering on the altar of the fatherland.

A hero's death on the battlefield is certainly finer, but such is not to be my lot, and I die here in the enemy's country silent and unknown. But the consciousness that I die in the service of the Fatherland makes death easy.

The supreme court-martial of London has sentenced me to death for military conspiracy. Tomorrow I shall be shot here in the Tower. I have had just judges, and I shall die as an officer, not as a spy.

Farewell. God bless you. HANS.

Lody's letter to his guard was as follows:

London, Nov. 5, 1914.

To the Commanding Officer of the 3d Battalion, Grenadier Guards, Wellington Barracks.

Sir: I feel it my duty as a German officer to express my sincere thanks and appreciation toward the staff of officers and men who were in charge of my person during my confinement.

Their kind and considered treatment has called my highest esteem and admiration as regards good-fellowship, even toward the enemy, and, if I may be permitted, I would thank you to make this known to them. I am, Sir, with profound respect,

(Signed) KARL HANS LODY.
Senior Lieutenant, Imperial German Naval Reserves.

It was strongly felt by all the English officials who came in contact with Lody during his short imprisonment that his character was a fine one, and his demeanor even won their admiration. The date set for his execution was Friday, Nov. 6, 1914. On the morning of that day, when the Assistant Provost Marshal came to his cell to tell him that his time had come, he said: "I suppose you will not care to shake hands with a German spy." "No, I would not," said the Provost Marshal, "but I will shake hands with a brave man." Lody was then taken to the place of execution, where he proved the truth of the Provost Marshal's words by meeting his death without flinching, and refusing to have his eyes bandaged. So Karl Hans Lody died.

THE STORY OF KUEPFERLE

Anthony Kupferle, alias Copperlee, an ex-non-commissioned officer of the German Army, who went to England from America ostensibly as a traveler of Dutch extraction, was "the German spy of the fiction writer: stiff, upstanding hair, round spectacles," and a painfully forced attempt to pass himself off as an American. "He was quite an artless individual," says Mr. Felstead, "and apparently imagined that his simulation of frankness would disguise the real purpose of his visit." From Feb. 14, when he arrived in Liverpool, the British Counter-Espionage Department was busily engaged in collecting evidence

against him. An apparently harmless letter to an address in Holland first aroused suspicion when opened by the postal censorship in London, because of the very futility of its content, merely announcing his arrival in Liverpool and his intention to continue his way to London to open business transactions there the following day. A trace of invisible ink between the lines led to the application of a re-agent which revealed a description of the war vessels which the writer had seen in his trip across the Atlantic.

After a short trip to Dublin, Kupferle went to Euston, where he wrote to his employers in Holland asking for money and saying that he was held up "because of those damned U-boats." An intensified submarine campaign had just been started, in fact, but this had no effect on Kupferle's departure, as he was already under close observation and marked for arrest. He was taken in custody at Victoria, and brought to Scotland Yard. When searched all the materials for invisible writing were found in his possession. Under interrogation he lied so clumsily and even stupidly that he stood convicted before he left the room. At the trial in Old Bailey he stood in the dock, dressed in a black frock coat, buttoned tightly across the chest, his cold, pale-blue eyes following the proceedings with the closest attention. There was virtually no defense, and when the court adjourned until the morrow, it was beyond question that, barring a miracle, he would pay the penalty of his espionage with his life. But the second day of the trial never came; on the following morning Kupferle hanged himself in his cell. There was found written on the slate allowed prisoners the following message:

To whom it may concern: My name is Kupferle, nee to (born in) Sollingen, A/Rastatt I/B (Baden). I am a soldier with rank I do not desire to mention. In regard on my behalf lately, I can say that I have had a fair trial of the U. Kingdom, but I am unable to stand the strain any longer and take the law in my own hand. I fought many a battles and death is only a saviour for me.

I would have preferred the death to be shot, but don't wish to ascend the scaf-

fold as a—[here follows a Masonic sign]. And hope the Allmighty Architect of this Universe will lead me in the Unknown Land in the East. I am not dying as a spy, but as a soldier; my fate I stood as a man, but can't be a liar and perjur myself. Kindly I shall permit to ask to notify my uncle, Ambros Droll, Sollingen, A/Rastatt I/B Germany; and all my estate shall go to him.

What I done, I have done for my country. I shall express my thanks and may the Lord bless your all. Yours,

(Signed) ANTON KUPFERLE.

My age is 31 years and I am born June 11/1883.

The body was buried in a nameless grave at Streatham Park Cemetery. It was ascertained that Kupferle had fought against the British on the western front, and his face bore the scar of the butt-end of a clubbed rifle. Before his suicide he wrote a letter to another spy awaiting trial, breathing the deepest hatred of his country's enemy, England.

MASTER SPY IN FRANCE

Rudolf Funck, considered one of the most important German spies in France during the war, was executed at Vincennes at dawn on Feb. 2, 1920. Funck, who was 54 years old, had formerly been a Lieutenant in the Austrian Army. The outbreak of the war found him living in Paris. With the aid of false papers, which enabled him to claim Australian citizenship, and having a perfect command of English and French, he passed unsuspected through the severe test applied to every foreigner during the early days of the war, and obtained a minor post in one of the Paris banks. This he held to the end of July, 1918, when he apparently came to the conclusion that, as a result of Foch's last great offensive, all hope of German victory was at an end. At that time he managed to cross the frontier into Spain.

After his departure the French authorities came into possession of irrefutable evidence that for many months he had given valuable assistance to the enemy by furnishing information as to the points where Gotha bombs and Big Bertha shells had fallen in the city. Even then he probably would have managed to escape unscathed if he had not made the mistake of again venturing on

the French side of the frontier for the purpose of claiming a trunk belonging to him which had been left at the frontier station of Hendaye. He was immediately arrested as a spy and was condemned to death by court-martial last June, but the judgment was quashed on technical grounds. A second trial brought Funck to the firing post.

The condemned man met his death bravely. Tall and erect, with pointed white beard and dressed in well-cut clothes, with patent leather shoes and soft hat, Funck was probably the calmest man in the little group that left the prison for Vincennes. When they reached the door he asked for an overcoat, which he put on with a shiver due to the chilly morning air, then carelessly held out his hands for the handcuffs. Refusing to allow his eyes to be bandaged or his arms to be tied to the post, he claimed the privilege as an officer to give the order to the firing squad, and then after calmly removing the overcoat, which he placed on the ground beside him, politely lifted his hat as a signal to the soldiers to fire the fatal volley.

OTHER CASES IN BRIEF

Other spies captured were Karl Friedrich Müller, Robert Rosenthal, Haicke Petrus Marinus Janssen, Willem J. Roos, Ignatius Trebitsch Lincoln, George T. Breeckow and his accomplice, Mrs. Lizzie Wertheim, Fernando Buschman, Augusto Roggen and Ernst Waldemar Melin.

Rosenthal's advent was betrayed to the British authorities by a letter from Copenhagen, addressed to Berlin, which by some error had been put in the London mail bag. He was caught at Newcastle on a steamer about to sail to Copenhagen. After strenuous denials, he was confronted with the evidence, confessed, and proclaimed himself a German soldier. It turned out that he was a convicted forger, and had never been a soldier. He died with apparent pride that he had rehabilitated himself with his countrymen.

Janssen and Roos were fellow-spies on the same mission, whose detection was due to the extraordinary number of cigars ordered by them from Holland. It developed that the name of each brand

indicated the figure of a cipher code. Janssen died stoically; Roos, after an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, died nonchalantly. This was in May, 1915. By the Summer of 1915 the British counter-espionage organization had become so efficient that in one fortnight seven spies were taken—a record haul that paralyzed the enemy schemes of re-establishing a spy service in England.

Augusto Roggen was a dapper, dark-haired little individual, who had been born in Montevideo. He was caught at Lake Lomond, where he was sojourning ostensibly for his health, which seemed excellent; the proximity of Tarbet, where vital experiments were being carried out with a new torpedo, coincided with information received by the authorities of important "leaks." Roggen was executed in the Tower of London in September, and met his death boldly. Melin was a well-educated German of 52, who had entered the espionage service to make a living. Scraps of information written by him on the edges of newspapers brought his conviction and execution.

MUELLER AND LINCOLN

Müller is characterized by Mr. Felstead as "probably the most important spy, individually, who came our way during the war." His arrest and execution had far-reaching effects on the enemy's espionage plans. Long resident in England, he passed as a Russian citizen from the Baltic provinces, where he had been born, and spoke Russian and various other languages with facility. An apparently harmless letter, treated with a hot iron, brought out information of considerable importance written in German between the lines. The trail led to the bakeshop of one Peter Hahn at Deptford. Hahn was arrested, and finally, by clever detective work, the whereabouts of Müller was discovered in London. Hahn received a prison sentence; Müller was executed in the Tower on June 23, 1915. All night long before the day set he was heard sobbing in the cell for his wife and children.

Ignatius T. T. Lincoln was one of the most brazen spies ever known. By origin a Hungarian Jew, he finally drift-

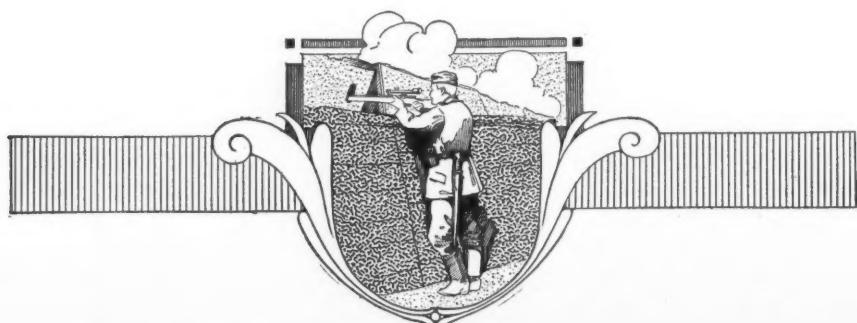
ed to England, rose by his undoubted abilities to the position of Liberal member of Parliament for Darlington, tried to insinuate himself in the counterespionage service despite the fact that he was an alien, and proposed to betray pseudo naval secrets of North Sea operations ostensibly to trap the German fleet. He was finally advised to leave England by the authorities; after coming to America he was extradited for forgery, and returned for a penal sentence. He remained in prison during the war, but in 1919, after his English naturalization papers had been canceled, he was shipped back to Germany. The Ebert Government, shortly before its overthrow last month, appointed Lincoln to the post of telegraphic censor.

HOW TWO SPIES FACED DEATH

Breeckow posed as an American of wealth traveling in England for his health. Put in touch through the German Intelligence with Mrs. Wertheim, a woman of immoral life, who had obtained British citizenship through marriage, he joined her, and the two together played their game of espionage as long as the authorities allowed them. Much of their time was spent in pleasure junkets. Mrs. Wertheim went to Scotland to pick up information of the Grand Fleet. Some of her questions of the naval officers to whom she made herself "more than agreeable" finally led to her arrest and conviction. Both the man and woman were brought before the authorities and questioned; Breeckow broke down completely, but the woman was so unabashed

that had it not been for Breeckow's confessions a conviction might not have been assured. The woman was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. Breeckow was executed in the Tower. He was so agitated that he died of heart disease before the bullets of the firing squad entered his body.

Almost a poetic figure was that of Fernando Buschman, with whom this series closes. Born in Paris, brought up in Brazil, a musician of ability and an expert in aeronautics, he had traveled widely in Europe. He entered the German Intelligence in 1914, and in 1915, after a course of training in espionage, he appeared in England in the guise of a commercial traveler. He visited both Portsmouth and Southampton. His career was cut short by falling short of money, which prompted him to write to Holland for a renewal of funds. The arrest took place at his lodgings in South Kensington. Letters found on his person established his guilt. He was tried at the Westminster Guild Hall on Sept. 20, 1915. He thanked his judges courteously after the trial. His request that he be allowed to keep his violin was granted, and for hours he sat discoursing beautiful music, oblivious to the death that awaited him. Taken to the Tower the night before his execution, he again asked for his violin, and for hours he forgot his coming doom in the solace of music. When taken to execution he picked up his violin, kissed it passionately, and exclaimed: "Good-bye, I shall not want you any more!" He refused to have his eyes bandaged, and met his death with a smile.





MEDALS EXPRESSING GERMAN HATRED OF ENGLAND

Germany's Hatred of England

Historical Light on the Legend of "Perfidious Albion" and Its Part in Causing the War

No theory of modern times has been more dangerous to the prestige and influence for good of any given nation than that embodied in the now classic and familiar phrase, "Perfidious Albion," as applied to the underlying motives of the Continental policy of Great Britain. Firmly established in France since the French Revolution, and expanded and intensified by the rancor of Germany, balked in her designs of crippling and dividing France, it grew beyond the Rhine into a credo of hatred through the embittered utterances of Treitschke, was given constant expression in Germany's foreign policy, which aimed at England's isolation, and burst forth with volcanic fury when Great Britain intervened in the war to save France.

In a long and carefully documented review of the subject Professor W. Alison Phillips, in the January issue of the Edinburgh Review, has investigated the origin and growth of the whole legend, and marshals a considerable body of evidence to prove that it is a legend, and nothing more. That the existence of such a belief was momentous he has no doubt at all. "It is worth while," he

says, "to inquire into the origins of a legend which has had so profound and terrible an effect upon international relations."

The height which this fever of hatred and distrust reached in Germany is brought out by citation of the remarkable memorandum addressed by the ex-Kaiser to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg on July 30, 1914, in which Wilhelm declared that, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, the "encirclement" of Germany, plotted by King Edward VII., had become an accomplished fact; and that a situation had been created which gave England the desired pretext for destroying Germany, "with the hypocritical semblance of justice presented by helping France to maintain the notorious balance of power in Europe." All these machinations, he said, must now be unsparingly laid bare, and "the mask of Christian peaceableness openly and violently torn from them in public." Finally, the whole Mohammedan world must be incited to "a savage uprising against this hated, lying, unscrupulous nation of hucksters."

Professor Phillips comments on this as follows:

At first sight this language suggests that the Kaiser's mind had become unhinged; but if so, there was method in his madness. There was even something more; for it is possible to detect in this insensate outpouring of hatred against England a note of sincerity and of a conviction that is more than the outcome of mere individual prejudice. And indeed, * * * the Kaiser's language was not his own, but a mere echo of what he had been taught as a boy, and of what all other German boys of his age and generation had been taught, about the character of England and the selfishness and unscrupulousness of her foreign policy. There is plentiful evidence that in using this language the Emperor was at one with his people, whose long pent-up hatred of England burst forth in an amazing torrent of vituperation the moment the floodgates were opened by the British declaration of war.*

A manifestation so unbridled and so disreputable came with a shock of surprise to the English. They would have been less surprised had they known that for two generations past the German people had been methodically taught that England, as a power, had always been mercenary, selfish and cowardly; that she had consistently abused her insular position, her policy having always been to set the continental peoples by the ears in order that, herself safe behind her "moat," she might be able to profit by the exhaustion of her rivals to extend her colonial empire, and secure a virtual monopoly of the world's wealth. It has to be remembered, too, that this legend—for legend it is—has been in the past by no means confined to Germany. Before the war it was equally current in France, and it is only since the war that French historians have begun to suspect the fundamental misconception underlying the traditional estimate of *la perfide Albion*.

Even with the object lessons of the war before them, not all have been able to rid themselves of their inherited prejudices. M. Edouard Driault, for instance, in a volume published in 1917, at the very time when the British blockade was forcing Germany to loosen the grip that was strangling France, declared: "It is certain that Napoleon (in the proclamation of the Continental blockade) represented right, strict right, natural right, against the indefensible misuse which England made of her supremacy at sea." It is, then, not surprising that the legend of the peculiar unscrupulousness and hypocrisy of British foreign policy should have been widely accepted on the Continent, since the selfishness and perfidy of

England were the stock themes of both French and German publicists.

HISTORY OF THE LEGEND

Tracing down the origin of the legend and its development through the nineteenth century, this writer finds its first evidence in the France of the Revolution. The political dogma formulated by Montesquieu even before the Revolution, that the republic, *per se*, was Virtue, brought the inescapable corollary that all opposers of the republic were open to criminal reproach. Hence, from the moment the convention resumed the traditional French policy of aggression in the Netherlands, and incurred thereby the enmity of Great Britain, it followed logically that English statesmen were, of all other statesmen of Europe, the most destitute of moral principle. The attacks of Barrère and Robespierre in the convention sound today like the anti-British onslaughts of the Germans. "It is this Government which uses the treasures of India to enslave Europe," declared Barrère, "the benefits of commerce to destroy freedom, the favor of social relations to corrupt men, and the tributes of the people to compass the death of Frenchmen." "It is in England," asserted Robespierre on May 7, 1794, "that Machiavellianism has pushed this royal doctrine (that honest men are of no use to Kings) to the highest degree of perfection."

This legend of *la perfide Albion*, spread under the republic in countless orations, in official documents, in books and polemical pamphlets, was seized joyously by Napoleon as a multiple confirmation of his hatred of the British, whom he had contemptuously stigmatized as "a nation of shopkeepers." Deliberately, according to this writer, he employed a host of hired scribblers to spread the legend throughout the Continent. The object of Napoleon, who, like William II., recognized in that impassable moat the unscalable barrier to the consummation of his dream of world dominion, was clearly evident in his stirring up in all Europe a clamor for the "freedom of the seas." Such isolated voices as that of the German, Friedrich von Gentz, who protested that Britain was the guarantor of the liberties of Europe, and that it

*In confirmation of this statement the writer cites "Wehe dir, England!" an anthology of 117 "hymns of hate," Leipzig, third edition, 1915.

was British sea power which stood between Europe and slavery, were voices crying in a German wilderness.

THE LEGEND IN GERMANY

One might have supposed that the common effort at Waterloo would have mitigated the virulence of the legend in Germany. If it survived and persisted, stronger than ever, this was due to the trend of policy pursued by the British statesmen in 1814 and 1815. Realizing the rapacity of Prussia's designs on France, a danger to the world which must be diverted, they successfully opposed demands including the partition of France, the restoration to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine, and the calling into being of a formidable German confederation, planned to englobe both Switzerland and the Netherlands. Disappointed and enraged, Prussian patriots heaped abuse on Britain and accused her of desiring to throw the Continent into new convulsions for her own profit. So the old legend was revived, notably by the great Prussian soldier Gneisenau, in a memorandum addressed to Emperor Alexander I. Professor Phillips says in this connection:

This was not merely the spleenetic outburst of a soldier who believed himself to be cheated of the spoils of victory; it was the deliberate expression of a revived opinion, and as such it is quoted by Treitschke, in his "Deutsche Geschichte," with entire approval, and enlarged on by him with characteristic venom and characteristic contempt for historic probabilities. * * *

Although Treitschke did not create the legend, he did more than any other man to give it a wide currency in modern Germany. His influence during the critical formative period of the new German Empire was enormous, and until his death, in 1896, he used this influence to destroy the admiration surviving among German Liberals for England and English institutions, in order to establish in its place the worship of the Prussian militarist ideal. In season and out of season, in his historical works, in his professorial lectures, in the pages of his "Preussische Jahrbücher," and doubtless also as the future Emperor's tutor, he played endless variations on the theme of England's "shamelessness" (die Unverschämtheit Englands), and the blindness of her so-called democracy by "huckster's egotism" (Krämeregoismus).

Such is the legend of *la perfide Albion*

as originated in Revolutionary France and developed by German hatred. This legend was undoubtedly favored by Great Britain's traditional foreign policy, though that policy, rightly understood, intimates Professor Phillips, is the libel's most convincing refutation. He continues:

It is true that from time to time England has been content "to revolve in her own orbit," sometimes with disturbing effect on the European system. But sooner or later an irresistible force has drawn her back into her predestined place as what Montesquieu called the *puissance exécutive* of Europe and the guardian of its liberties. Even Mr. Gladstone, though of all British statesmen the one most disposed to avoid "continental entanglements," realized the existence of this force. * * *

THE BRITISH TRADITION

The most striking thing in the history of British foreign policy, continues the writer, is the almost unbroken continuity of this great tradition. In 1694 Lord Halifax laid down the prime condition of British security in the following phrase: "Look to your moat. The first article of an Englishman's creed must be that he believeth in the sea." In 1800 Pitt explained the fundamental cause of the war with France as "security against a danger which threatened all the nations of the earth." The moral authority of Great Britain in the councils of Europe was founded on the general conviction that in certain vital respects her interests and those of the Continental peoples were identical. England might be safe behind her moat, but she would remain so only so long as no power should arise strong enough to dispute her mastery of the seas. She was thus forced into the position of protector of the "balance of power" which was universally recognized as the conservative basis of the European States system. This position, though motivated by "security," brought with it moral consequences of the greatest importance; it made Great Britain the champion of the rights of weaker States, and the champion of the sanctity of the treaties by which these rights were secured. The pursuit of this policy sometimes involved war, but it was not a warlike policy.

When, mainly through Great Britain, Napoleon's power was brought low, the island nation made it clear that she had no intention of using her enhanced prestige for selfish ends. "The wish of the Government," wrote Castlereagh on Feb. 6, 1814, "is to connect its interests in peace and war with those of the continent." While the state of Europe afforded little hope of a better order of things, Great Britain had no other course left than to create an independent position for herself; but now that she might look forward to a return to ancient principles, she was ready to make the necessary sacrifices to reconstruct a balance in Europe. In accordance with this intention, she presented a long list of the conquered colonies which she was prepared to restore to France and Holland. This action created a profound impression, and gave her a prestige which enabled her to mediate successfully between the violently conflicting interests at Vienna, to prevent a renewal of war, and to bring about the settlement of 1815, which remained the foundation of peace for nearly fifty years.

THE "GRAND ALLIANCE"

To preserve the balance of power thus re-established, and the treaties on which it was based, was the guiding principle of British Continental policy for many years. As an effective means to this end, it was deemed wise by British statesmen to preserve the "Grand Alliance" which, originally concluded between the four powers and directed against France, was given wider scope in 1815 and converted in 1818 into an alliance of all five Continental great powers by the admission of France. It soon became clear, however, that there was a fundamental difference of principle between Great Britain and the Continental allies in this League. From the first the British statesmen protested against the attempts of the autocratic powers, terrified by sporadic symptoms of revolutionary unrest, to exalt the alliance into a kind of super-tribunal, armed with vague powers for the maintenance of the status quo. And when this claim was actually formulated by the three autocratic powers at Troppau,

in 1820, Great Britain protested vigorously, and proclaimed the principle of non-intervention as a cardinal doctrine of British foreign policy; that is to say, the right of nations to manage their own affairs so long as they do not offend against their neighbors.

It was the assertion of this principle that led to the first breach (and eventually to complete separation) between Great Britain and the Continental Alliance. When, at the Congress of Verona in 1822, it was proposed to give royalist France a European mandate to suppress the Liberal system in Spain, Great Britain protested, and when her protests were unheeded withdrew her representative from the conferences. After Castlereagh's death Canning proclaimed anew all the well-known principles of Britain's policy. Under Palmerston occurred the events connected with the successful revolt, in 1830, of the Belgians against the union with Holland imposed on them in 1815. For two years Palmerston's diplomacy prevented the outbreak of a general European war over this dispute. When, finally, in 1832, a British squadron and a French army cooperated in forcing the Dutch to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp, and to retire behind the frontiers assigned to Holland by the powers, this action was interpreted by the autocratic nations as fresh proof of the "perfidiousness" of Great Britain, and in September, 1833, the meeting of Münchengrätz proclaimed their resolve to draw together in support of the sacred principles of the Holy Alliance.

THE EUROPEAN BALANCE

The situation thus created was commented upon by Palmerston as follows:

The division of Europe into two camps is the result of events beyond our control, and is the result of the French Revolution of July. What they really complain of is not the existence of two camps but the *equality* of the two camps. The plain English of it is, that they want to have England on their side against France, that they may dictate to France as they did in 1814 and 1815; and they are provoked beyond measure at the steady protection France has derived from us. But it is that protection which has preserved the peace of Europe. Without it there would long ago have been a general war.

With the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849, which saw the rise of Louis Napoleon to power, the relations of Great Britain and the Continent entered on a new phase. These years heralded the break-up of the old order in Europe, and marked the beginning of that universal clash of national ideals which, in the next twenty years, was to lead to the creation of the German Empire and of United Italy. Palmerston, though favoring oppressed nationalities, still pursued the tradition of the balance of power. He favored Italian aspirations only because he believed the amputation of the Italian provinces would strengthen Austria for her proper life work as the guardian of the west against the overgrown power of Russia. He refused to intervene on behalf of Hungarian independence. The attempts of Great Britain to combine the championship of the weaker nations with her traditional policy gave fresh life to the old legend, contradicted by the whole attitude of England at the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century, when she came out in favor of free trade, that is to say, unfettered intercourse between nations.

ENGLAND'S WEAK POLICY

It was England's very desire for peace which, after Lord Palmerston's retirement in December, 1851, caused a weakness of policy that had regrettable consequences. There would have been no Crimean war, says Professor Phillips, if Great Britain had made it clear from the first that she would resist in arms any attack by Russia on the Ottoman Empire. Her very peaceableness, emphasized by the pacifist propaganda of Cobden and Bright, completely deceived Czar Nicholas as to the temper of the British people. The fault of the British attitude was not that it was perfidious, but that it was weak. In 1854 this weakness was partly due to the weakness of the army and navy. The Crimean war and the Indian mutiny still further exhausted Great Britain's strength. A greater firmness was displayed in 1860 when Lord John Russell proclaimed the sympathy of England with the cause of Italian independence; and again when

Great Britain refused to join her naval forces with those of France in order to prevent Garibaldi and his thousand from crossing the Strait of Messina; but Russell's protest in the name of the treaties, against the treatment meted out to Poland by the Emperor Nicholas after the insurrection of 1863, helped the Poles not at all, and earned for Great Britain a humiliating snub, followed by another of the same kind encountered by an equally futile protest in 1864 against the seizure of the Danish duchies by the German powers. Thus England's prestige, as Disraeli said in the House of Commons, was noticeably lowered. Bismarck shaped his policy accordingly, and, availing himself of Louis Napoleon's restless efforts to secure compensations in Luxembourg and the Netherlands for the aggrandizement of Prussia, drove England into an angry neutrality when the attack on France was launched in 1870 by publishing the celebrated draft treaty, drawn up by the French Ambassador Benedetti, under the terms of which Belgium was, under certain contingencies, to be annexed to France. Great Britain then intervened only to safeguard the neutrality of Belgium, and left France to meet her fate alone.

THE GERMAN MENACE

From the time of the crushing defeat of France and the consolidation of the German Empire in 1871, until the creation of the new entente with France in 1904, Great Britain, says Professor Phillips, can hardly be said to have had a Continental policy at all. The treaties had been torn to pieces; the balance of power had ceased to be. The power of the German Empire now surpassed that of any other State. Four years later it was still more strengthened by the alliance with Austria, which in 1882 became the Triple Alliance by the adhesion of Italy. Great Britain accepted the situation and turned her attention to the East.

With the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the chapter of European history which opened in 1815 may be said to have closed. In the scramble for world power which began in the eighties, the storm centre was transferred to Egypt, Tunis,

Nigeria and Manchuria. To isolate France and distract her attention from Alsace-Lorraine, Bismarck encouraged her rivalry with England in Africa; to divert the threat of Russia against Germany he directed her ambitions to the Far East, where she came in dangerous touch with Great Britain on the borders of India. With England and Russia at odds in Asia and Africa, and France and England engaged in the bitter rivalry which culminated in 1898 in the Fashoda incident, there was no prospect of restoring the balance of power in Europe, and Germany's purposes were served.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

It was not till the opening years of the present century that the growing self-assertion of Germany, backed by the increase of her armaments, awoke Great Britain to the fact that her position in the world was being definitely challenged, and that her empire might once more have to fight out its defense on the battlefields of Europe. It was the sense of a common peril which drew France and Russia again together, which united once more France and England. So was created the Triple Entente, to counteract and oppose the Triple Alliance. England had been driven back again to her traditional policy of the balance of power.

That peace, nevertheless, was not preserved, is attributed by Professor Phillips to the same weakness, or rather uncertainty of policy, which had left the Czar of Russia in the dark as to Britain's intentions on the eve of the Crimean war. "If, from the first," he says, "it

had been made quite clear that England would stand beside her allies in the event of their being attacked by Germany, the balance of power would have been complete and obvious, and Germany would never have risked a war. It was the uncertainty of Great Britain's attitude that made war possible. * * *

For this uncertainty the conditions under which British foreign policy had to be pursued, keeping ever in view a wholly uninformed public opinion, were mainly responsible. The welding of the Entente into a definite defensive alliance would have been strenuously opposed by a large section of the nation. "It needed "the German violation of Belgium to "open the eyes of the British democracy," says Professor Phillips, "and "then it was too late to save the world "from the agony of the most terrible "of all wars. But we may dismiss at "once, as utterly without foundation, "the legend of the 'encirclement' of "Germany, pretext for a deliberate war "of aggression. Great Britain's earnest "desire for peace was proved by Sir "Edward Grey's dispatches during the "crisis of July, 1914, which show the "transparent honesty of his language "and his intentions. In this respect he "was but following the true tradition "of our Foreign Office, which may be "summed up, in the words of Canning, "as 'respect for the faith of treaties; "respect for the independence of nations; respect for the established line "of policy known as the balance of "power; and, last but not least, respect "for the honor and interests of this "country.' The legend of 'perfidious "Albion' is a legend and nothing more."



Why the German Navy Failed

Captain Persius, Germany's Foremost Naval Critic, Discusses the ex-Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz

CAPTAIN PERSIUS, the sanest and most noted of German naval critics, has written a book on "The Sea War." As the naval expert of the Berliner Tageblatt he had chafed bitterly at the iron restrictions placed upon him by the German censorship. When that censorship was removed, he wrote his book to tell what he thought of the German naval policy before and during the war. His revelations constitute one of the most formidable indictments of the ex-Kaiser and his naval chief, von Tirpitz, which have ever appeared in print. Like Maximilian Harden, Captain Persius criticises wholly from the German viewpoint, a method which makes his attacks all the more deadly.

At the outset Captain Persius gives interesting details of the personalities of the ex-Kaiser, who was the Supreme Chief of the German Navy, and of Prince Henry of Prussia, who occupied the position of Senior Admiral. Of the building-up to the German Navy he says:

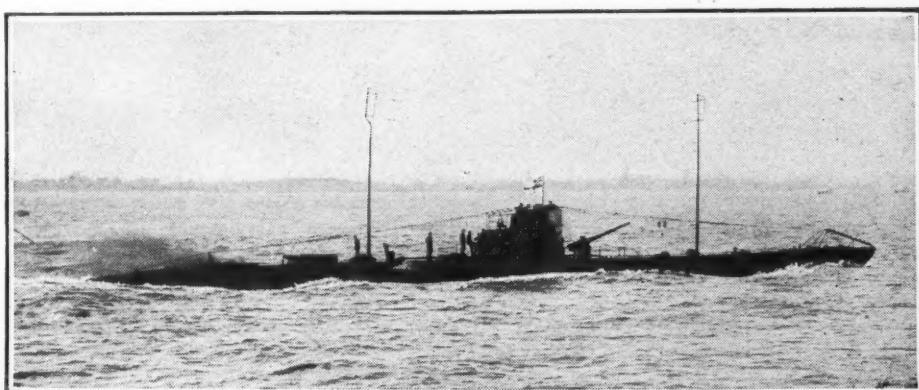
With a few cruisers and with the friendly assent of Great Britain Bismarck gained nearly all our colonies for us. No threat was seen in our naval armaments, which fully sufficed for Germany's interest. But at the end of the last cen-

tury the time began when Tirpitz set to work in order to carry out the Kaiser's words: "The trident belongs to our hand." What motives had William II. to increase naval construction? In the first place, megalomania and vanity. In order to satisfy these he needed a strong fleet, strong at least in numbers. Crass materialism was the driving force behind the Kaiser's every action.

KAISER AND PRINCE HENRY

Naval construction, intimates this German critic, was carried on by the Kaiser for his own pleasure and entertainment. He needed the fleet as a background during the Kiel week, and as an escort during the Hohenzollern excursions. His evil influence was widespread among the officers, among whom servility to superiors, brutality to inferiors, unhealthy rivalry, love of enjoyment and bombast were encouraged. Under the Kaiser's régime luxury and good-living flourished. During the war he often appeared at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven and made grandiloquent speeches. During the naval manoeuvres he perpetrated practical jokes which were almost incredibly coarse and vulgar.

Prince Henry of Prussia, the ex-Kaiser's royal brother, stands equally low in the estimation of Captain Persius. He



GERMAN SUBMARINE CRUISER OF HEAVIEST TYPE, EQUIPPED WITH LARGE CALIBRE GUN AND MINE-LAYING APPARATUS

says Prince Henry was a pronounced Anglophile, most at home when strolling along Pall Mall or Piccadilly, or when, in evening dress, the guest of some English club. An interesting account is given of Prince Henry's pleasure cruise to the Far East in the German war cruiser, the



GRAND ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ
German Naval Secretary and chief advocate of submarine warfare

Deutschland. Before his departure the Kaiser said to him:

If any one should venture to offend us in our good right, then bring your mailed fist (*gepanzerte Faust*) into action! And, if God wills it, weave laurels around your youthful brows.

To this the Prince rejoined:

I go forth to bring to the nations the evangel of your Majesty's hallowed person!

On this Captain Persius comments that the "gepanzerte Faust," which became world-famous subsequently in English translation as the "mailed fist," referred to the Deutschland, an armored cruiser of an old, ramshackle description and the object of much ridicule among the English.

Captain Persius was a member of the Deutschland party on this cruise, and

came back with many uncomplimentary anecdotes of Prince Henry, which he sets down in his book. Once, while the ship was lying near Bangkok, a number of Siamese Princes and dignitaries arrived in a yacht. They were decked out with all kinds of orders, and their uniforms blazed with gold. Their leader, a chocolate colored Siamese, was the worse for liquor. When Captain Persius expressed his amusement at these absurd personages, Prince Henry waxed furious, and



ADMIRAL VON CAPELLE
German Secretary of the Navy, succeeding von Tirpitz

exclaiming: "No more of this, please! Be careful what you're saying! Why, you don't seem to have the slightest dynastic feeling!" walked away in a fit of bad temper.

TIRPITZ AND U-BOAT WAR

Of Admiral von Tirpitz, the man responsible for the execution of the Kaiser's naval policy, Captain Persius writes:

It is no exaggeration to say that, except for the few gentlemen who owed him personal gratitude, our naval officers felt no sympathy for Tirpitz. His character

was generally known—his crass egoism, his domineering spirit, his megalomania, his lack of understanding for the needs of the fleet, his feebleness in the face of the bureaucracy. Known, too, were the orgies he carried on in the Marine Ministry and the way in which he failed whenever new problems in ship construction or naval artillery appeared. * * * He failed in the precise direction in which he should not have failed—U-boats! He showed plenty of energy where less energy was needed—torpedo boats and airships. Tirpitz was often great in little things. In this respect he somewhat resembled a Prussian Sergeant Major. * * * The Kaiser did not find Tirpitz sympathetic (although he imagined he needed him). It was my frequent experience that he treated him contemptuously. But Tirpitz's skin was as thick as his science was robust. * * * Today no wideawake German thinks of Tirpitz except sorrowfully. * * * Tirpitz who torpedoed German happiness, German contentment, German wealth.

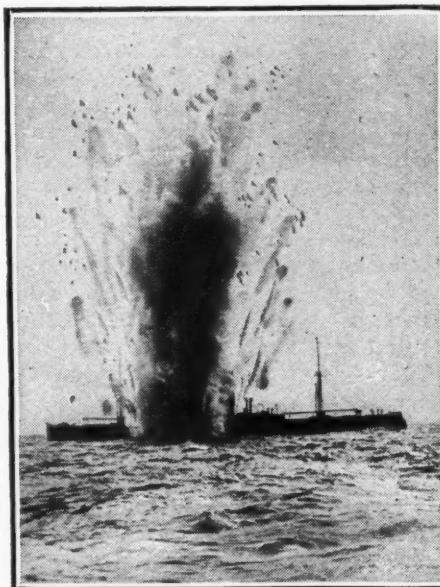
Captain Persius blames Admiral von Tirpitz severely throughout for not realizing the value of the submarine; even in peace time, he says, the German Naval Command

neglected the most modern weapon, the submarine, which would have been of the highest value for us, who were the weaker at sea. The chief guilt lies with Tirpitz, who did not further the U-boat weapon before the war as interests of national defense demanded. He furthered the construction of big battleships with great ardor. And thus he created England's hostility to us, and thus he created the war.

As a consequence of von Tirpitz's misconceptions, Germany entered the war with only twenty-seven submarines. Captain Persius gives a series of figures showing the slow growth of the German submarine fleet. Not only von Tirpitz, but his successor, Admiral von Capelle, were at first opposed to U-boat construction, and when they realized the value of this weapon they advocated intensified U-boat warfare prematurely, so that when a really formidable number of submarines had been launched England had perfected her defensive measures. The unrestricted U-boat war which was opened in 1917 Captain Persius calls the greatest mistake made by the Germans after the invasion of Belgium, because it brought America into the war. In this connection he says:

Sensible Parliamentarians opposed it.

From Capelle's mouth came the words: "America—zero, zero and zero once again!" He rejected the arguments of those who pointed to possib'e war with America by saying that he was of one mind with his former chief, Tirpitz. Even in January, 1918, he said to a representa-



TORPEDO EXPLODING AMIDSHIPS UNDER A BRITISH MERCHANTMAN

tive of the Neues Pester Journal: "America's military assistance is a phantom."

GERMAN NAVAL CENSORSHIP

To the very last the German naval censorship adopted a policy of secretiveness and falsification. Captain Persius compares this policy with that of the British Admiralty, which admitted frankly all losses: the only exception to this rule was the loss of the Audacious, and this was admitted immediately after the armistice. In Germany all was hushed up, obscured, invented. In all cases of official announcements of naval battles in which the British and German versions conflict, Captain Persius establishes the fact that the British version was truthful and accurate, the German version untruthful and inaccurate. "The German people were bluffed and deceived until they lost all faith in their own rulers."

A case in point involved the transpor-

tation of American soldiers to the battle-fields of France. To the last the German naval authorities denied that American troops were being sent. On July 5, 1917, the Rotterdam correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt wired that German submarines had attacked American transports, the implication being that the attack had been unsuccessful. This wire was submitted by Captain Persius to the Staff of the German Admiralty. The reply received was as follows: "The telegram can be published only if a comment, making the news appear ridiculous, is added." The edited version, which made the message appear vague and problematic, was not accepted, and the news about the attack on American transports was suppressed altogether. Every engagement, large or small, was similarly misinterpreted or hushed up in the grossest and most childish manner. Some of the official reports quoted by Captain Persius are absurd and insulting to the intelligence of the German people. For this von Tirpitz and his successor were responsible.

THE REVOLUTION

It is significant that the German revolution broke out first in the navy. The responsibility for this Captain Persius attributes in great part to the evil influence of the Kaiser already mentioned, his superficiality, grandiosity, love of display, and nepotism of a widespread character, as a consequence of which officers and men became mutually estranged. Though there was much inactivity during the war, the men's leave was cut down, and many irksome and unnecessary restrictions were imposed upon them. While the seamen lived on war rations, the officers reveled in luxury. Realization of the stupidity of the German naval policy also sapped the confidence of the men, and the personality of the Kaiser widened the breach. On June 5, 1916, just after the battle of Jutland, in which the British lost 6,104 men and 117,150 tons of shipping,

as against the German loss of 2,414 men and 60,720 tons, the Kaiser said to a delegation representing the crews of all the ships engaged, assembled on board his flagship at Wilhelmshaven:

The English fleet has been beaten. The first mighty hammer-blow has been delivered. The halo of English world-dominion has vanished. You have opened a new chapter in the world's history. The Lord of Hosts has steeled your arms, and has cleared your eyes. Children, what you have done, you have done for our Fatherland, so that in all the future and on all seas it may have a free path for its work and all its deeds.

A very loyal old naval officer, who had taken part in the battle and was present during the delivery of the Kaiser's grandiloquent speech, made this pithy comment:

We were laying to with our badly riddled ships. The many dead and wounded were brought to land. On the quays stood their kin clothed in black; women and children wept piteously. We were not intoxicated by victory. We knew that this was the first and last battle we could fight. We had had amazing luck, and it seemed incredible that things had gone so well for us. Then the Kaiser came on board, in high spirits, smothered in decorations, surrounded by his great entourage that distributed handshakes and congratulations right and left, smiling graciously. The Kaiser's bombastic speech and the whole ceremony were so repulsive to me that I shuddered. I shall get rid of my uniform as soon as possible.

It was episodes such as this that destroyed the confidence of the crews in their rulers. When the end of the great drama approached, and the entire German fleet was ordered to steam out and give battle—which meant annihilation—the sailors got wind of this "devilish proposal," and the news went from mouth to mouth like wildfire. "They were going to murder us, one and all, in the last moment of the war!" The men of the German Navy refused to be murdered, they mutinied, the revolution began, and the whole imperial edifice collapsed like a house of cards.

War Guilt of Count Berchtold

His Falsification of Records

FOLLOWING the publication by the Austrian Foreign Office of the first part of a Red Book giving the official documents found in the Austro-Hungarian archives which recorded the events leading up to the outbreak of the World War, certain Hungarian publicists seized upon the report of the joint ministerial council of July 7, 1914, in Vienna (printed in the December issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*), as evidence that the late Count Stephan Tisza, then Premier of Hungary, through his objections to the procedure of the council, had shown himself a lover of peace. But the second and third parts of the Austrian Red Book, published in December, 1919, showed that, although the Count had been cautious at the first council, at the second, held on July 19, he had been already converted to the doctrine of force and entered heartily into the plans for aggression.

The Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, in its issue of Dec. 27, 1919, devoted a long article to the Red Book, and asserted that its contents also proved that Count Leopold von Berchtold, who, as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, presided over the council of July 7 and constantly urged war upon Serbia, was guilty of wholesale falsifications in his work of 1915, called "The Diplomatic Documents of the Antecedents of the War." How quickly Count Tisza was converted to the plan to coerce Serbia, regardless of consequences, says this Austrian Socialist newspaper, is shown by the following "very secret" report sent to Berlin on July 14, 1914, by von Tschirschky, the German Ambassador in Vienna:

Count Tisza looked me up today after his conversation with Count Berchtold. The Count said that he had always been the one so far who had counseled caution, but that every day strengthened in him the sentiment that the monarchy [Austria] must come to an energetic decision in order to show its vitality and to put an end to the intolerable conditions in South Slavia. "It was with difficulty that I decided to advise war," said the Minister, "but I am now firmly convinced of its

necessity and I shall work with all my strength for the greatness of the monarchy. * * * *The note to Serbia will be so worded that an acceptance is as good as excluded.*" * * * At the close Tisza warmly shook my hand and said: "Now, united, we shall calmly and firmly face the future."

On July 24, 1914, the Hungarian Premier telegraphed to Berchtold as follows:

I ask your Excellency to emphasize, in my name if necessary, that in case of no satisfactory answer from Serbia it would be imperatively necessary immediately to order mobilization. Any hesitation in this matter would be bound up with fatal consequences.

In taking up the case of Count Berchtold's Red Book of 1915, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* remarks that while the Count only mentioned sixty-four official documents covering the period from May 29 to Aug. 24, 1914, the Foreign Office's publication gives 352 for the period from July 2 to Aug. 27, 1914. Furthermore, it avers that Count Berchtold not only omitted many important documents from his book, but he also "touched up" the dispatches which he printed so as to make the reader believe that the World War had been willed by the Entente and that the central empires were the innocent victims. Then the Vienna newspaper proceeds to cite some examples of the Count's work, as follows:

Through the entire course of the negotiations before the outbreak of the war there runs the assertion that Serbia had already ordered general mobilization on July 25, 1914, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. So Grey's efforts for peace were answered on July 26, [Berchtold to Count Mensdorff, the Austrian Ambassador in London], "that almost at the same time as he [Grey] had directed his note to Prince Lichnowsky [German Ambassador in London], that is, yesterday at 3 o'clock, Serbia had already ordered general mobilization, which shows that in Belgrade there was no inclination toward a friendly arbitration of the matter." On July 28 Berchtold again notified Count Mensdorff in London that: "Your Excellency will lay great emphasis in your conversation with Sir Edward Grey upon the circumstance that the general mobil-

ization of the Serbian Army was ordered for the 25th at 3 P. M.; we had not previously made any military preparations, but were forced by the Serbian mobilization to go into them on a big scale." [See Tisza's report that this had been decided upon long before!] But what was the real situation regarding the Serbian order? On July 24, 1914, Baron von Giesel sent a really extremely belligerent report from Belgrade to Berchtold, which nevertheless contained the following:

"Serbia's present military weakness, due to the uncertain and sacrifice-entailing situation in New Serbia, even if not overlooked by far-sighted politicians, is regarded even by them as a quantité négligeable, just because the Monarchy, for internal and external reasons, is considered feeble and incapable of any energetic action. That the serious words already spoken by our authoritative officials are regarded as a bluff is evident from the fact that no measures for preparing the army—or at least none worth speaking of—are being taken; the reservists are being dismissed without arms in small groups from New Serbia to Old Serbia, and no arrangement has yet been made for the mobilization of the second levy. All reports to the contrary are thus far lacking confirmation."

From this it is plainly seen that the assertion of the ordering of the mobilization before the delivering of the answer is a fable, thought out, as Tisza said to Tschirschky on July 14, for the purpose of "especially" affecting England. This whole section, which so clearly refutes the fable, is simply left out of the Berchtold Red Book. * * *

On July 25, 1914, Berchtold gave instructions to Ambassador Count Szapary in Petrograd. * * * Count Szapary was instructed by Berchtold to tell Sazonov [the Russian Foreign Minister] "that we are going to the limit in order to put through our demands and do not even shrink from the possibility of European complications." These last words, which plainly show that the scoundrels of the Ballhaus knew very well whither they were driving, Berchtold omitted. The world has been told that the Russian policy of those days was absolutely belligerent; the version, as is known, ran that Russia had "suddenly fallen upon" the innocent Central Powers. But on July 26, 1914, Szapary reported to Berchtold on the sentiment in Petrograd and about his interview with Sazonov, and in this report were the following sentences:

"Had impression of great nervousness and worry. Consider desire for peace sincere, military declarations in so far correct that complete mobilization has, indeed, not been ordered, but preparatory measures very far reaching. They are plainly trying to gain time for fresh

negotiations and for continuation of the work of arming. The internal situation also gives undeniable cause for serious worry. Main feature of the sentiment, hope in Germany and mediation by his Majesty. Although the immediate information of the German Military Attaché indicates nervousness on the part of Sazonov, and mobilization only against



COUNT BERCHTOLD
Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in 1914

Austria in case the Serbian border is crossed, rather seems to betray the intention of exercising diplomatic pressure, there must not be left out of the calculation, together with the falsity of promises here, the lack of unity between the diplomatic and the military procedures, as well as the importance of gaining time for the Russian mobilization."

All this left out, falsified away! Berchtold omitted the following parts from Szapary's report of his conversation with Sazonov to Berchtold of July 27. (The report is only a couple of lines in length in the Berchtold Red Book; the correct report occupies, in a true reproduction, more than three pages!):

"M. Sazonov received me, in contrast with his very impatient attitude on Friday, very amiably. He referred to the above-mentioned communications of Count Pourtalès [German Ambassador at Petro-

grad] and said if I had not announced myself he would have asked me to call upon him, so as to talk openly with me once. Friday he had been somewhat surprised and had not controlled himself as well as he could have wished, and then our conversation surely was only a purely official one."

Here follow the declarations of the Ambassador, after which he reports on Sazonov's answer:

"M. Sazonov animatedly agreed with me and showed himself uncommonly pleased over the tendencies of my statements. He made many promises that in Russia, not only he, but the whole Cabinet and, what is of the most weight, the sovereign, were animated with the same feelings toward Austria-Hungary. He could not deny that in Russia old grudges were entertained against the Monarchy; he, too, had them, but still this all belonged to the past and must not play any rôle in practical politics; and so far as the Slavs were concerned, indeed he ought not to tell this to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, but he had no feeling for the Balkan Slavs. They were even a heavy burden for Russia and we could hardly imagine what one had already had to endure for them. Our aim, as I had described it to him, was perfectly legitimate, but he opined that the way in which we were seeking to accomplish it was not the safest. * * *

"At the close of his interview M. Sazonov again expressed, in the warmest terms, his joy over the explanations that I had given and that had materially calmed him. He will also report this to Emperor Nicholas, whom he will see day

after tomorrow on his reception day."

This is, as we have said, the report of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and it certainly does not indicate any insuperable desire for war by Russia. Naturally Berchtold couldn't use this, so he falsified it away. And now another example of how everything was twisted around through lying. Berchtold's last crime, as is known, was the rejection of Grey's proposal of mediation, which was sent to him by the German Imperial Chancellor through Tschirschky—because it was made by Grey to the German Ambassador. In his circular telegram to the Ambassadors in Berlin, London and Petrograd Berchtold reproduced the report of Tschirschky, and in it there was also the following:

"To the Italian Ambassador, whom Sir E. Grey received shortly after Prince Lichnowsky, the English Secretary of State said he believed he could procure every possible satisfaction for Austria-Hungary. There would be no question of a meek drawing back by Austria-Hungary, as the Serbs under all circumstances would be chastised and, with the consent of Russia, be compelled to subordinate themselves to the Austro-Hungarian desires. Therefore, Austria-Hungary could obtain guarantees for the future also without unchaining a World War."

Thus the world, even the Austro-Hungarian world, would have recognized, even then, that the rejection of this proposal was a crime and a piece of insanity. Therefore, Berchtold suppressed this entire section, simply falsified it away.

Armenian Girls Branded

BRANDED Armenian women, said William T. Ellis in The New York Herald, are now returning from captivity among the Turks, after five years of enforced degradation. Were it not for the patriotic resolution of their fellow-Armenians to regard these girls and women as martyrs of the race, their fate would be horrible to contemplate. All the world knows how the Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and other savage tribes took their pick of the Armenian women among the deported people, and made thousands of these members of Moslem households. Among the Kurds and Arabs, particularly, it is the custom to tattoo the faces of the women, in the belief that such tattooing leads to an

enhancement of natural beauty. Forehead, lips, chin and cheeks sometimes receive only a few simple designs, sometimes an elaborate "adornment." The Armenian girls thus disfigured returned to their homes with the story of their slavery written plainly upon their faces, which they could not even hide with veils, as the Armenians do not follow the Moslem custom of veiling their faces. Sensitive to this public disclosure of their shame, many of these Armenian girls and women so branded have resorted to burning to obliterate the tatoo, at the cost of permanent unsightly scars. Many others, unable to face the ordeal of returning, have preferred to remain in the Moslem households where they have been enslaved.

THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

In Industry, Engineering, Physics, Aeronautics and Electricity

Exploring the Depths of the Earth

After exploring the polar regions, the upper air, and the electrical mysteries of the atom, man has begun exploring the earth beneath and the waters under the earth. From the recent boring of deep oil wells and mining shafts science has obtained new data looking toward an understanding of the nature of the crust of the earth, the source of the intense heat in the earth's interior and the law governing the distribution of that heat from the surface to the centre of the earth.

Hitherto, for the solution of this three-fold mystery, scientists have had several hypotheses. For instance, we are told that this terrestrial sphere has a central, red-hot nucleus, ranging in temperature from 3,000 to 180,000 degrees Fahrenheit. Some scientists hold that the earth is a cooling globe radiating heat developed during condensation from the original nebula; others attribute the subterranean heat to chemical reactions; others, more recently, believe it is caused by the disintegration of radium in subterranean rocks.

But, whatever may prove to be the source of the subterranean heat, the fact that it is encountered in fast-increasing intensity the deeper down men work their way constitutes a seemingly insuperable obstacle to exploration at depths comparable to the atmospheric altitudes attained by aviators. On the Rand, in British South Africa, where a depth of 4,500 feet was reached lately, it is found that the thermometer goes up one degree for every 250 feet it is carried downward. A speaker at a February meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, Mr. Marriott, who has been associated with the deepest drilling on the Rand, called this the most moderate rate of increase he had ever found; yet even this, being 128 degrees

at three miles and 149 degrees at four miles, would make it practically impossible to go more than three or four miles into the earth on account of cooling difficulties. On the same principle a much shallower depth limit would have to be set in America, where temperatures have been found to be incomparably higher, and so variable that no gradient has been established.

THE WORLD'S DEEPEST MINE

Sir Charles Parsons, at the same meeting, spoke of the deepest mining shaft in the world—that of the Morro Velho mine of the St. John del Rey Company, in Brazil. At a depth of 6,426 feet work had been halted by a temperature of 116 degrees in the rock at the bottom and 98 degrees in the air. An ammonia refrigerating plant is being installed to cool the air. Sir Charles spoke of the possible use of liquid air for cooling purposes.

For years the well, 7,348 feet deep, at Czuchow, Germany, stood unrivaled. Then enterprising American prospectors for gas and petroleum bored the Goff well, eight miles from Clarksburg, W. Va.; after 400 days of actual drilling they reached a depth of 7,386 feet, in March, 1918. Then the work was halted by the breaking of the cable, leaving a ponderous string of tools at the bottom of the shaft. The object was to sink a shaft 8,000 feet deep to the Clinton sand, which at higher levels in Ohio has yielded richly in oil and natural gas.

But the deepest well in the world is the one bored on the J. H. Lake farm, near Fairmont, W. Va., to a depth of 7,579 feet. Here the objective was the same as in the Goff well. The Lake well was begun in June, 1916, and in September, 1917, the work was halted at a depth of 6,720 feet to await a new

cable. The war delayed the receipt of this, so that drilling could not go on until the end of October, 1918. In June, 1919, a cave-in far down the bore halted operations at a depth of 7,579 feet. Failure to line the sides for nine-tenths of a mile in the lower section of the shaft had left it unsupported against the surrounding pressure and the shock of the heavy percussion drill, and thus had caused the collapse. However, the man who made this depth of well possible is confident that, with a suitable reinforcement of casing, a depth of 10,000 feet is practicable.

The expense of such operations varies according to the geological difficulties encountered. The R. A. Geary well, not far from McDonald, Pa., cost \$100,000 to drill down 7,248 feet. At this point, a water pressure of nearly 3,000 pounds to the square inch crushed in the tube casing, burying the drilling tools and stopping the penetration within a few hundred feet of the Clinton sand. The cost of boring the Goff well was \$50,000; whereas that of the Lake well was only \$29,000.

Besides being of great use to science, such enterprises have revealed great potentialities in the way of economic and commercial values. After passing a depth of 6,800 feet, in the Geary well, the drills struck layer after layer of rock salt ranging from five to ten inches in thickness; and these salt strata extended in unbroken sheets throughout areas of many thousands of square miles. An eminent geologist has suggested the possibility that these areas are remains of fossil ocean water, imprisoned in mid-Paleozoic time, and that deposits of some of the potash salts may be found interbedded with the common salt. This would be a find of agricultural importance, looking toward independence of German potash for fertilizer.

WORKING AT GREAT DEPTHS

Except possibly the Morro Velho shaft in Brazil, the deepest mine in the world is shaft No. 3 of the Tamarack mine, in Michigan, with a depth of 5,200 feet. The sinking of a mining shaft is limited to about a mile. Below this depth the

heat of the rocks is beyond human endurance. Not even with the aid of artificial ventilation can workmen bear up under it. But in boring a well six inches in diameter the depth of penetration depends only upon the design of the drills, the strength of the cable, and the skill of the men in telling from the feel of the steel cable at the ground level how their tools are taking effect thousands of feet below. For the method known as cable drilling the drills vary from one to two tons in weight. Adequate wire rope cables are fashioned to bear the strain of lifting and dropping such weights when these ponderous drills drive their way downward.

For the study of temperatures in the Geary, Goff and Lake wells, C. E. Van Ostrand, physical geologist of the United States Geological Survey, devised ingenious instruments, especially maximum thermometers. In experimenting with thermometers employing the mercury column principle and those employing the principle of temperature registration by electric resistance he found liabilities to error in each that necessitated a combination of the two principles. In the electric resistance thermometer the deflection of the needle of a Wheatstone bridge indicates the flow of electric current, and, accordingly, the temperature of the resistance element lowered into the well. The difficulty with the mercury thermometer lay in having to expose it for an hour at the depth required for a reading, and afterward in preventing jars on its way to the surface that tended to shake the mercury down into the bulb again.

In the electric resistance thermometer the difficulty lay in preventing the insulating compounds surrounding the lowered circuit from being dissolved by petroleum. Its advantage lay in having to lower only the electric circuit while keeping the registering apparatus above ground. It worked well to a depth of 3,000 feet. But by using two sets of three maximum thermometers, one having the mercury bulbs inverted, it was found possible to take much more satisfactory readings at depths greater than 4,500 feet.

In the Geary, Goff and Lake wells a temperature of about 55 degrees Fahrenheit was found 100 feet down. In the Geary well this temperature increased to 142 degrees Fahrenheit at a depth of 6,100 feet; 159.3 degrees in the Goff well at 7,300 feet, and 168.6 degrees in the Lake well at a depth of 7,500 feet. It

was estimated that in any of these three wells the boiling point would be reached at 10,000 feet. From such studies it is inferred that the practicability of tapping the earth's vast reservoir of heat for industrial and other uses has been brought appreciably nearer by these boring enterprises.

How U-Boats Were Located at Sea

Among the inventions perfected in secret during the World War, none has a more important bearing on the arts of peace than the wireless compass. This radio instrument, which has put at the disposal of mariners and aeronauts such aids to navigation as were never before dreamed of, was evolved from the theory underlying the apparatus invented by Pupin or that of Weagant for the elimination of static interference in wireless communication.

Having become thus able to send radiograms in all weathers from Washington to men-of-war in the Gulf and distant parts of the ocean, and to get clear answers, the navy was still in pressing need of means of intercepting radiograms of the enemy and of tracing the same to their sources. Marconi had conducted experiments before the war with a similar apparatus, but the exigencies of the German submarine campaign brought about the development of the radio compass, first in the British Navy, and then, in a higher degree, in the American Navy. Here it was developed under the direction of Captain S. C. Hooper, U. S. N., head of the Radio Division of the Bureau of Steam Engineering. The evolution of this instrument is the story of the destruction of the German U-boat power. America and the Allies had no hope of victory on the sea, except by thus striking at the enemy's wireless system, which was the integrating factor of the enemy's naval warfare.

The wireless compass is a masterpiece of simplicity. The appliance consists of an arrangement of coils in the receiving apparatus so that the full wave length will be registered on the receiver only when the sensitized coil is in direct alignment with the sending apparatus. The

instrument is mounted on a pivot, the base of which conforms to the positions on the compass. It was turned around until it reached the point on the compass where the signal waves registered the strongest whenever a submarine used its wireless device. In that direction was the submarine. The sea fight followed.

All sizable naval vessels have been equipped with this compass, and radio-compass stations are fast being installed at all ports, as a means of promoting the safety of sea or aerial navigation.

The original system was installed in July, 1917, to trace amateur wireless sets in New York. One station was on Building 5, Bush Terminal, and the other on top of the Administration Building of the College of the City of New York. Though still in the experimental stage then, it soon proved valuable in discovering illegal wireless apparatus. From this beginning was created the Naval Communication Service, with headquarters at 44 Whitehall Street, New York, and with its co-ordination into a system of aids to navigation of the five radio stations at Montauk Point, Fire Island, Rockaway, Sandy Hook, and Mantoloking, N. J.

After the war the Naval Communication Service adapted its wireless compass to the arts of peace without fundamental change. By consolidating these five stations off New York into one system, it has provided service of great value to navigators. It is often called into use, and a few times it has saved vessels from running ashore by giving them their bearings. The service is known to nearly all masters of ships having wireless equipment. Whenever they lose their bearings off New York, in a fog or otherwise, they call up the central

station on Whitehall Street, with a request for their bearings. The operator on duty in the bureau, sitting among the buzzing coils and clicking instruments, orders all five stations to receive signals from the ship that is calling. Then he advises the ship to repeat the call. Each station receives the full-strength signal waves from a different angle, the exact degree and fraction being indicated on the card of the wireless compass.

Then each station transmits the direction to the central station, where each of the station compass readings is plotted

immediately on a map showing the contour of the coast and the position of each station. Dummy ships, each attached by a movable straight line to the centre of a radio station compass (indicated on the chart), are moved into position; and the point where the straight lines intersect indicates the exact position of the ship that has called. Then the central operator notifies the ship, in the proper nautical readings, where it is—say, southwest of Montauk, south of Fire Island, southeast of Rockaway, east of Sandy Hook, and northeast of Mantoloking.

"Seeing in the Dark" by Wireless

The higher development of the wireless (radio) compass, making it applicable to aerial navigation, was perfected under wartime secrecy by the genius of a youth of 20, Earl C. Hanson, an electrical expert who was connected throughout the war with the Radio Division of the Bureau of Steam Engineering of the Navy Department. He solved the problem of landing aircraft safely in darkness, dense fog, or other untoward atmospheric conditions. The dangers of the groping previously necessary presented the greatest obstacle to the widespread use of flying machines for commercial purposes. The Navy Department allowed Mr. Hanson to divulge the secret of his invention in May, 1919, when it was being put to important service on the navy airships that were making the famous transatlantic flights.

His plan for an aircraft landing station comprises the combination of three well-tried devices into a radio directive transmission system for the guidance of aircraft at high speed in a direct course between cities or other points. This is accomplished by means of that finer development or intensifier of wireless transmission which is termed audio frequency. This makes possible a more ready detection of radio signals in entire independence of other radio flashes that may be passing through the same aerial section or block, without interference with straight wireless flashes.

By the system followed, audio frequency energy is projected to a prede-

termined altitude, but it is restricted to areas over the landing field. Working with this is a buried illumination system which serves as a guide for the landing, once the aviator has received his instructions and has penetrated fog or other bothersome atmospheric conditions down toward the landing field. This lighting signal is kept below the ground level and revealed through a heavy glass surface even with the level of the field. Thus there is no searchlight flashing into the eyes of the aviator.

The audio frequency transmission system indicates the exact location of the landing field to the air pilot in such a way that in crossing the beam of projected audio energy he not only becomes aware that the field lies directly below, but also he can determine under any conditions his approximate altitude. With the combination of the audio frequency signal and the lighting system the landing station is so equipped that the aviator can steer a direct course between two ports by noting the route in which the maximum strength of radio signals is received.

During the war this apparatus played a great part in finding German vessels in the English Channel. Also, through the use of these "dictographs" of the air, naval intelligence officers could interrupt messages from the German radio plants, both on shipboard and on land, and thus obtained accurate information of the enemy's plans.

Talking With Norway by Wireless

Norway began talking directly with the United States by wireless on Nov. 20, 1919, when the new station at Stavanger, in Southwestern Norway, was opened informally. The American station at Chatham, near Boston, with which it is to communicate, was not yet ready, so the connection was made with the Annapolis and Philadelphia stations.

The Norwegian Director of Telegraphs, Thomas Hefty, closed the contract for the Stavanger station with the Marconi Wireless Company, Ltd., in August, 1913, and it was approved by his Government. In June of that year the Storthing appropriated for the project the sum of \$567,000, though the station cost a little more before it was completed. The following year witnessed the completion of the station buildings and the homes of its personnel, but the outbreak of the war delayed the installation of machinery and other equipment until the Autumn of 1917.

In the large commercial relations that are expected to develop between the United States and Norway this new means of communication holds great potential benefits for the business interests of both countries. Day and night the Stavanger wireless will keep in touch with the American station, establishing constant communication between the Stock Exchange of Christiania and the Stock Exchanges of American cities. The direct exchange of news between all parts of the United States and every valley of Norway should have far-reaching social effects in the little kingdom. The Norwegian daily papers will have representatives in American cities, as they have long had in metropolitan centres of Europe. The ability of any Norwegian with a telephone in his house to send a

message to kith and kin in any part of America is expected to lead to a degree of acquaintanceship and understanding between the two nationalities never before dreamed of.

The superiority of this means of communication over the cable lies in the duplex system of the Stavanger wireless, making it possible to receive and transmit messages simultaneously without the speed limits necessitated by the nature of the cable. With the aid of phonographs and other mechanical and electrical means of receiving the messages it is probable that messages can be delivered at as high a rate as 100 words a minute. To facilitate the duplex action the receiving station built at Naerbö is separated from the transmission station by a distance of more than eighteen miles. The former has, besides its receiving air net, a so-called balance air net to counterbalance the work of the transmission station. The latter is situated at a place called Ullanhaug, over three miles from Stavanger. Each of the ten masts of nearly 500 feet high. The sides of the rectangle formed by the points measure 32,480.35 by 7,283.45 feet. From the support rope stretching from mast to mast hang twenty-four air threads provided with rod-shaped insulators of porcelain. The foundation of each mast is a strong block of concrete sunk in the ground.

The power is supplied from the Stavanger Electrical Works at Oltedalen, where the city has large holdings of water power. The cost of telegraphing by the Stavanger wireless to America is to be 90 öre (25 cents) a word. The station will facilitate internal communication throughout Norway, as well as with the outside world.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

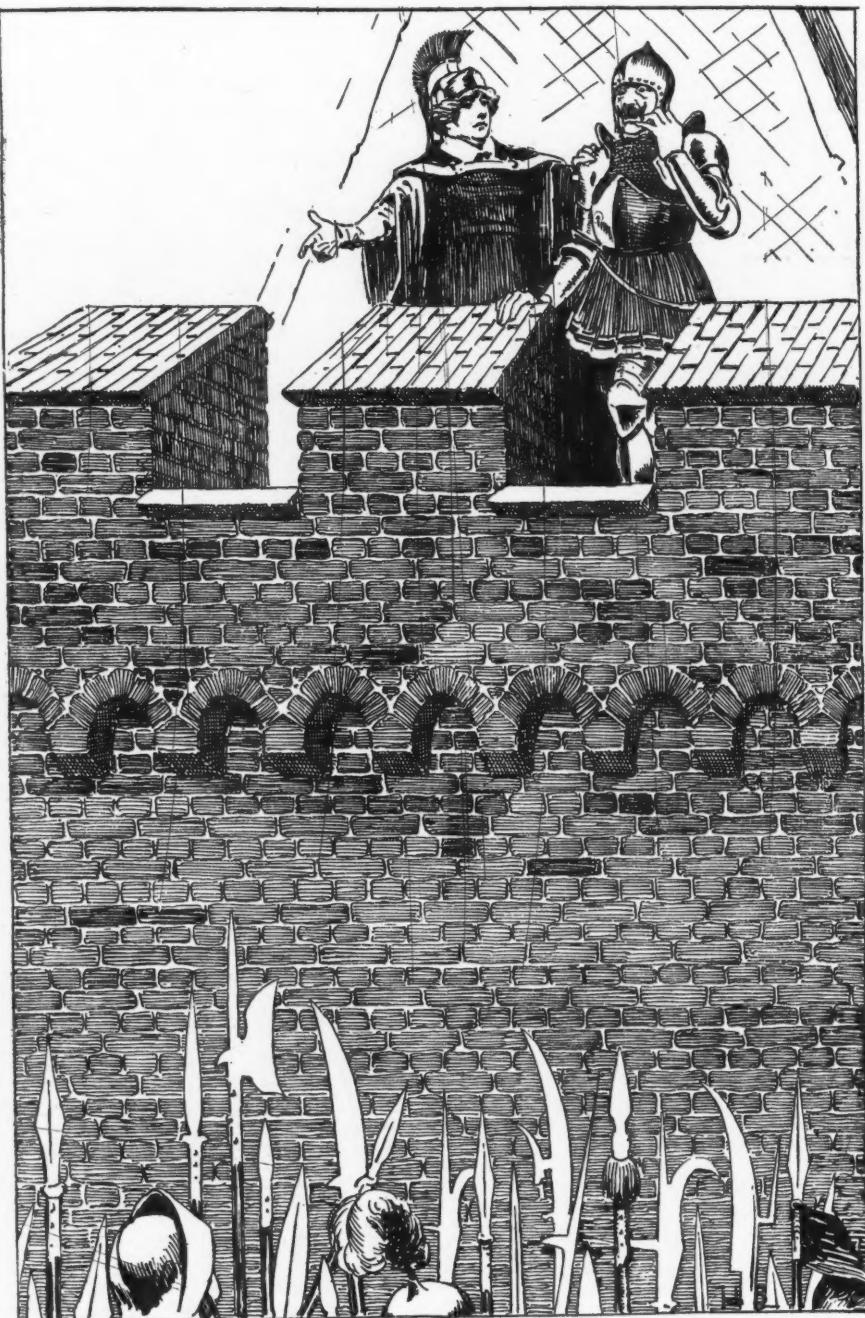
The Two "Willful Gentlemen" Who Are Holding Back the World



—From The New York Tribune

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Demand for the Kaiser's Surrender



—From *De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam*

MAID OF THE NETHERLANDS (to Wilhelm): "Follow the example of Jan van Schaffelaar. Then you will free me from my difficulty"

[American Cartoon]

Shall He Go In or Stay Out?



—From *The Newark News*

"The whole question of war and peace comes to a head here where all the powers are struggling to get through this narrow passage to the East. It seems impossible, therefore, to urge strongly enough the necessity for America's entering Turkey in some authoritative capacity. No other solution can bring more than temporary peace."—Constantinople cable dispatch

[German Cartoon]

The New Gessler Hats

("William Tell" to Date)



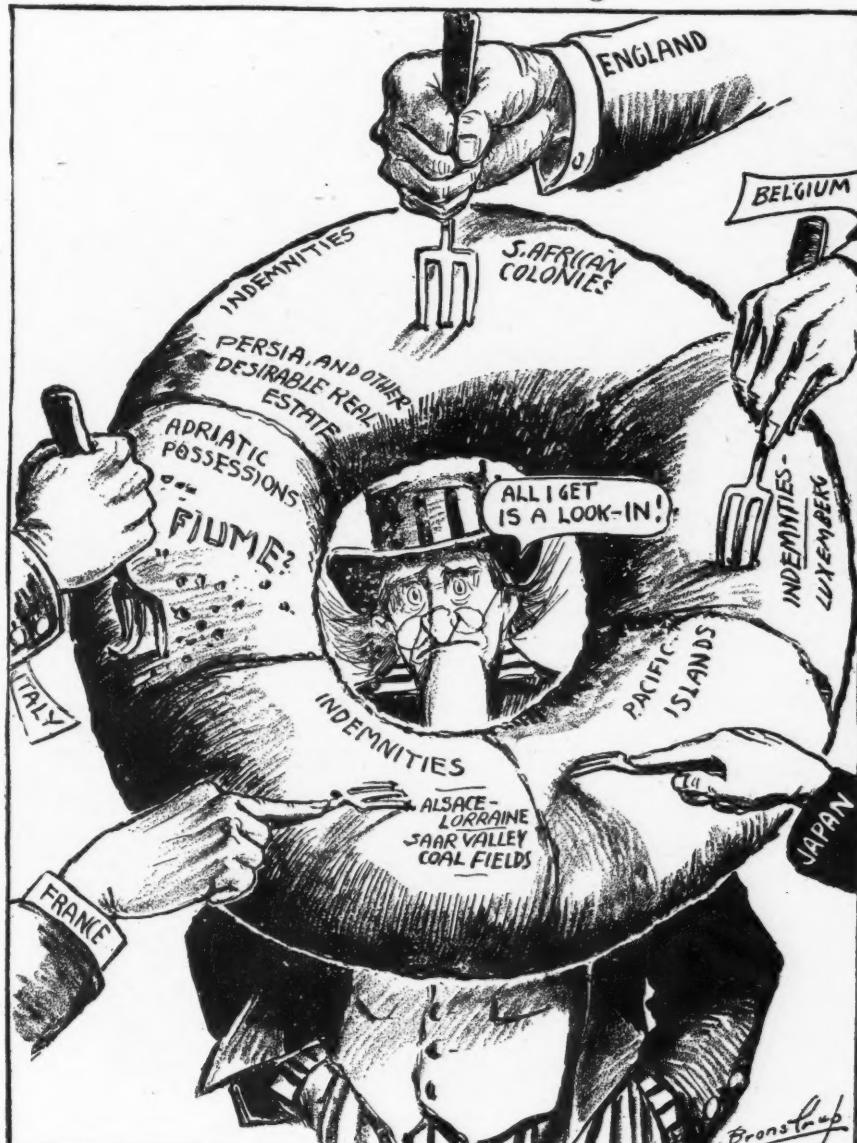
—From the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, Berlin

"In the name of the Entente, halt and salute!"

[Under the regulations of the Rhineland Commission every German in uniform, from the soldier or policeman to the humblest forest guard, was at first compelled to salute the flags and officers of the allied and associated powers]

[American Cartoon]

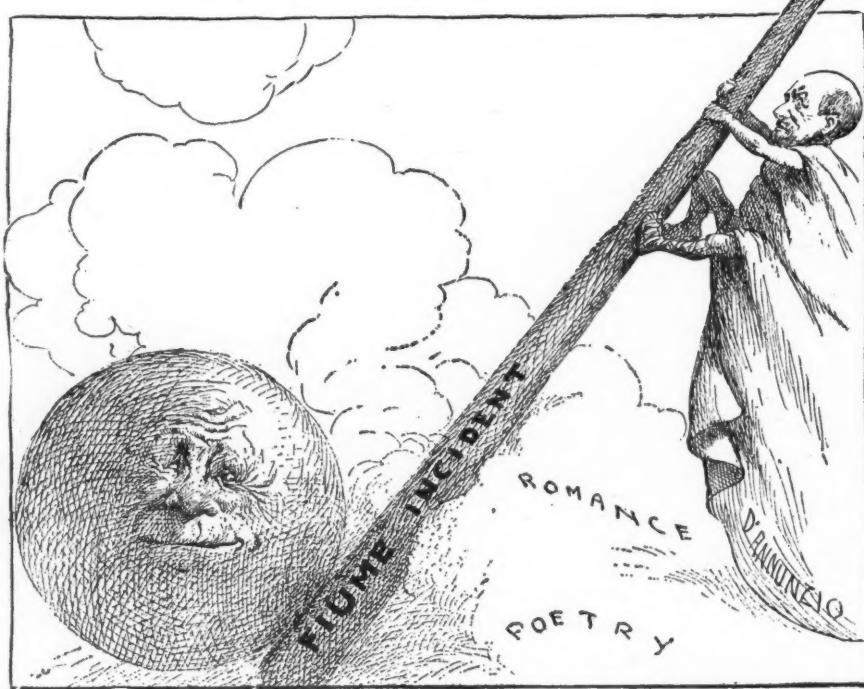
The Hole in the Doughnut



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*

[American Cartoon]

The Modern Archimedes

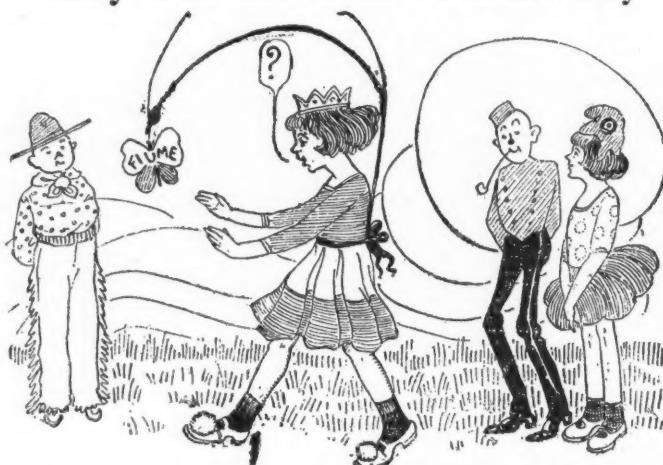


—From *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

He could move the world if only he had a fulcrum for his lever

[Italian Cartoon]

Italy and the Elusive Butterfly



—From *Il 420, Florence*

How much longer is this miserable joke going to last?

[American Cartoon]

A Hand-fed Eruption



—From The Dayton News

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Bolshevism



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

As it is pictured

As it pictures itself

[English Cartoon]

Lloyd George, Like Macbeth, Sees a Phantom

[Mr. Asquith, whom Lloyd George superseded as Premier, has been re-elected to Parliament by a Paisley constituency]



—From *London Opinion*

LLOYD MACBETH GEORGE: "The time has been,
That * * * the man would die,
And there an end; but now, they rise again * * *
And push us from our stools"

[American Cartoon]

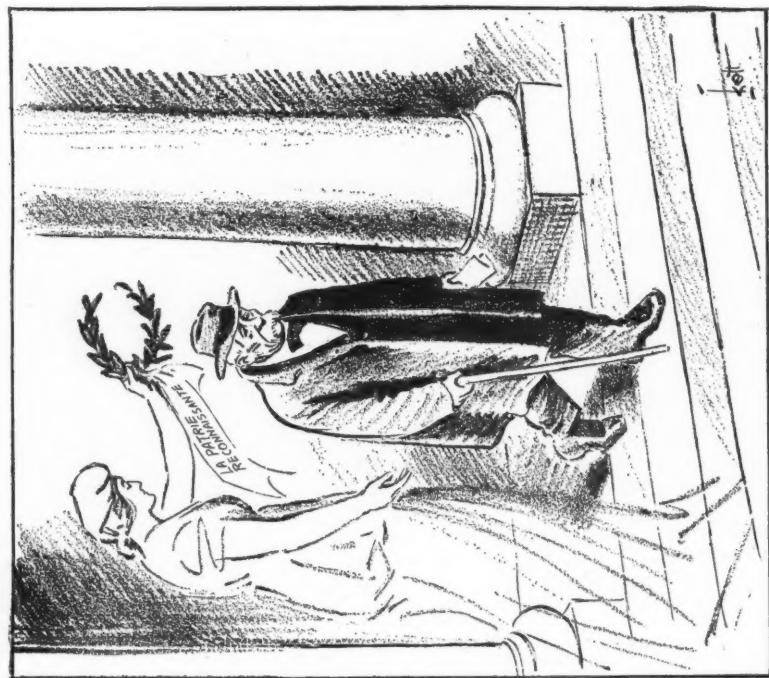
Her Savior

Aw, Let Her Stay There Till After Election!

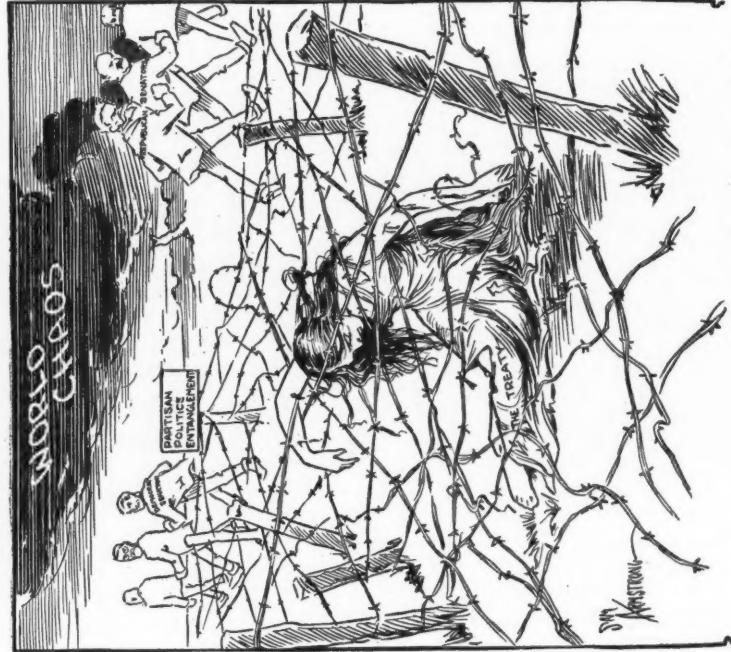
[American Cartoon]

Her Savior

Aw, Let Her Stay There Till After Election!



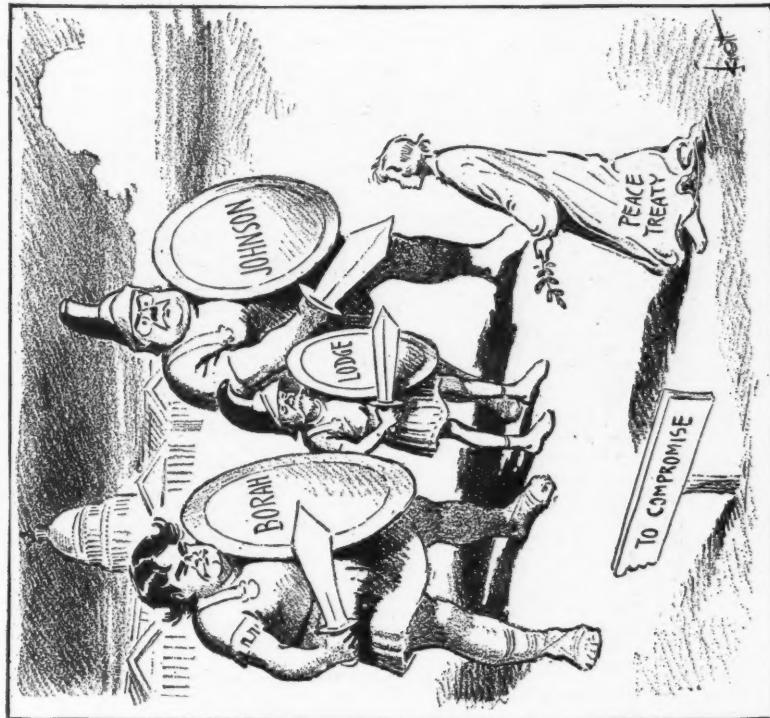
—Dallas News



—Tacoma News-Tribune

[American Cartoon]

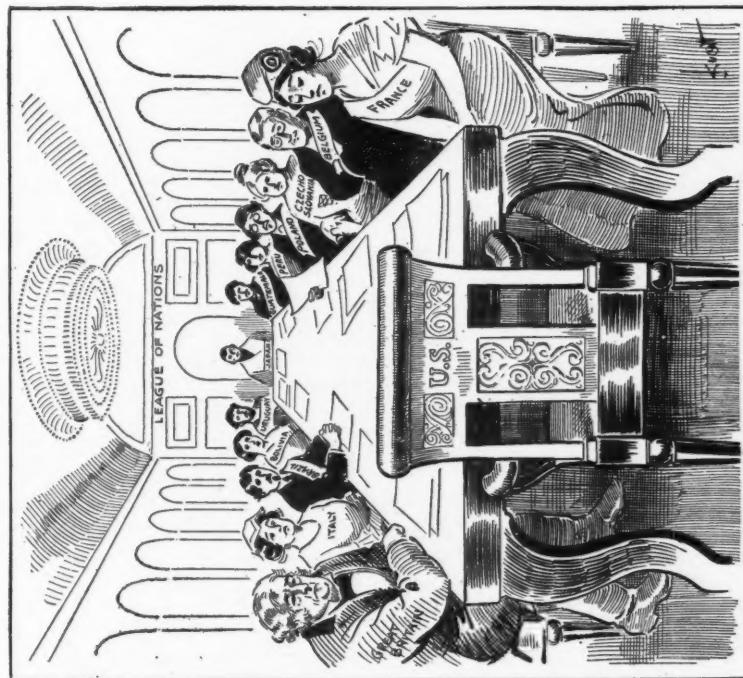
The Dauntless Three



—Dallas News

[American Cartoon]

Conspicuous By His Absence



—Dallas News

[American Cartoon]

Hearin' Things

[American Cartoon]

A Mere Spectator



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland



—Detroit News

[American Cartoon]

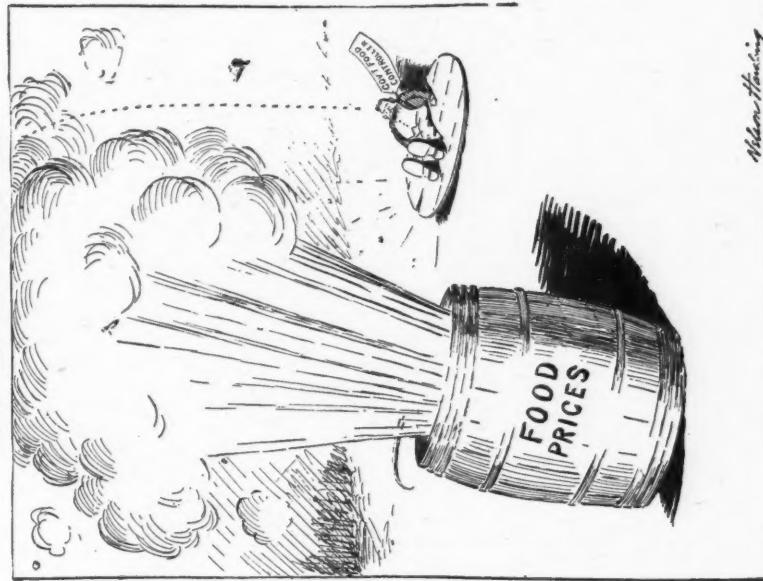
It's a Long, Long Way



—Albany Journal

[American Cartoon]

Yes, Our Food Controller Is on the Lid,
But the Lid Isn't On

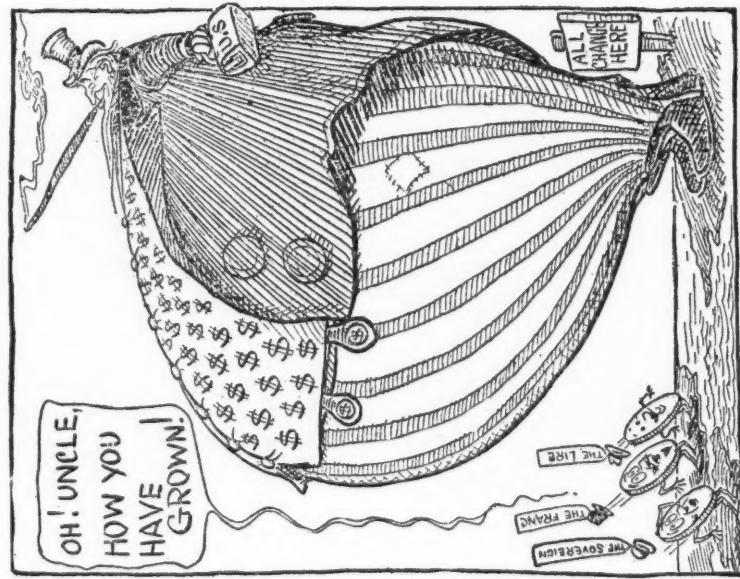


Helen Haning

—Brooklyn Eagle

[English Cartoon]

The New Fat Boy



—*Daily Express, London*

[A British and an American view of the large value of the dollar abroad, or the shrinkage of European exchange rates]

[American Cartoon]

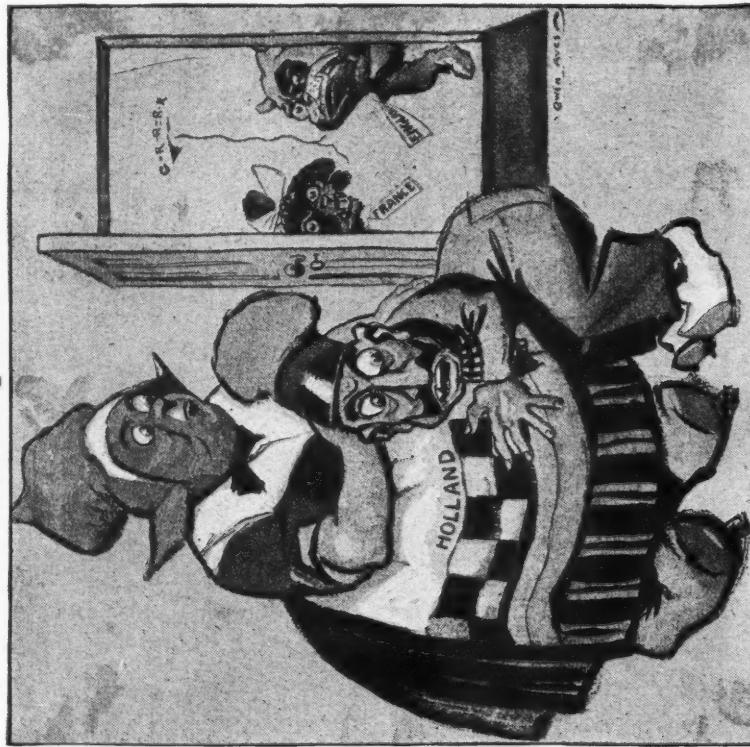
The Situation Is Viewed With Alarm



—*Central Press Association*

[English Cartoon]

Increasing Affection



—*Passing Show, London*

“* * * NOSES round the door
Make me love mother more!”

[American Cartoon]

“Eliza”



—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*

“Uncle Tom’s Cabin” up to date

[English Cartoon]

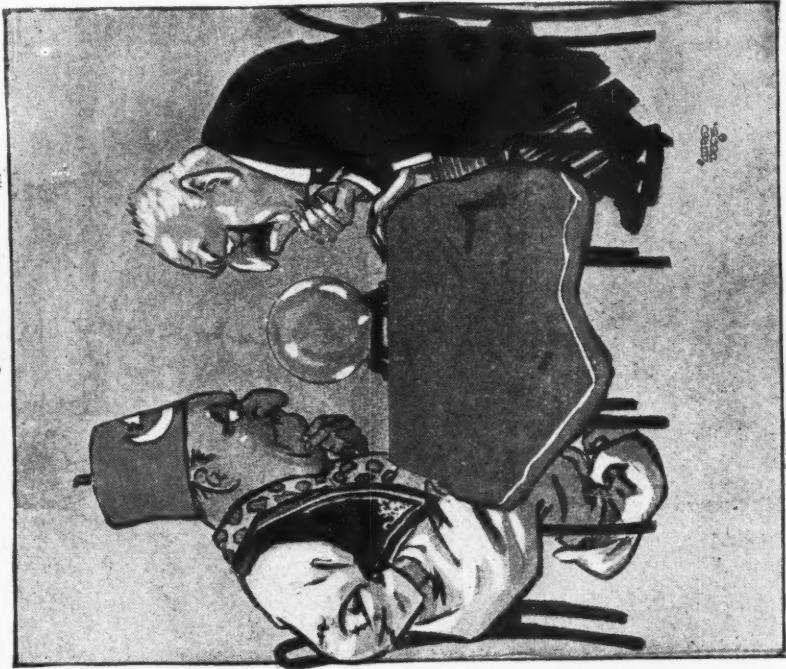
"Vici, Veni, Vidi!"



—Raemachers in *The Bystander, London*
Caesar said: "I came, I saw, I conquered." The would be
Caesar of yester year (spelt with a K) says: "I conquered, I
came, I saw!"

[English Cartoon]

The Crystal Gazers



—The World, London
"Considering all things, my dear Wilhelm, the outlook is
decidedly promising."

[Austrian Cartoon]

Austria's Fever Dream



—From Die Muskete, Vienna

YOUNG AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC: "I dreamt that I was in a dark house, and a Shape of Terror held me by the hand. I felt no heart within me, and no God above me. I longed to wake and find it was only a dream, but I could not"

[American Cartoons]

At It Again



—New York World

A Spiritual Reunion



—San Francisco Bulletin

Beauty and the Beasts



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

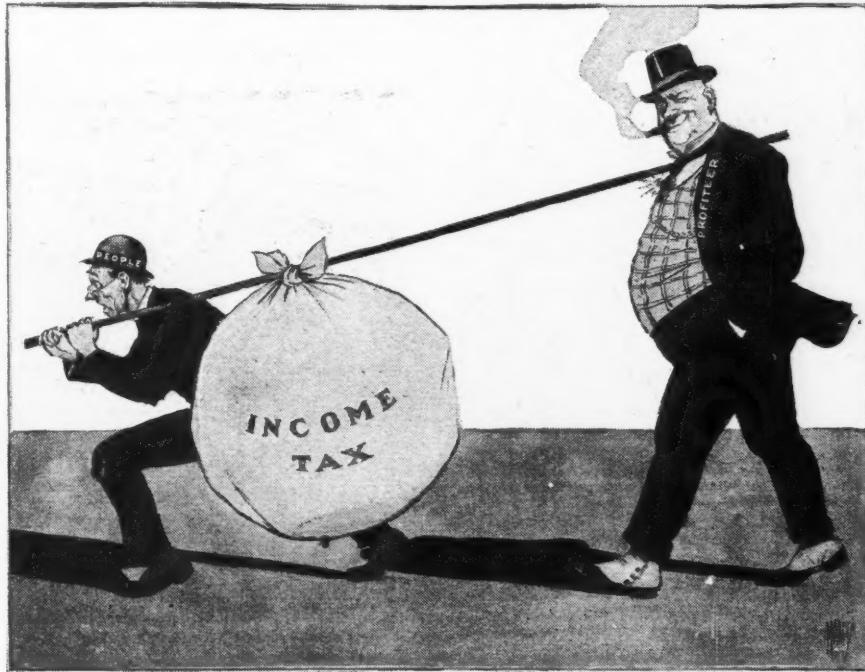
'B-o-o-o-ard!



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

[American Cartoons]

Bearing the Burden



—From *The New York Times*

The High Roller



—Cincinnati Post

Not a Time to Take on More Load



—Omaha World-Herald

[American Cartoons]

Still, There Are Signs of Spring



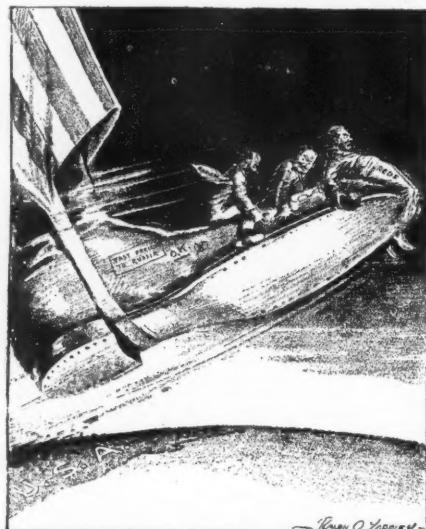
—Brooklyn Eagle

That Old Reliable Life-Preserver



—Brooklyn Eagle

The Reds' Air Route to Russia



—San Francisco Bulletin

The Ever-Widening Circle



—San Francisco Chronicle